



C. SALLUSTI CRISPI  
IUGURTHA

EDITED BY

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## PREFATORY NOTE

THE text of this edition is based on that of Jordan's third, but I have departed from it in several important passages (of which a list is given on pp. xxxiv, xxxv), especially in the chapters not contained in the best mss. (*codd. mutili*), where I have generally followed the recension of Wirz<sup>1</sup>. In 97. 5, where *some* correction was needed, I have ventured to print in the text a conjecture of my own.

In writing the notes I have tried to observe the principles I set before me in editing the *Catiline*. Fabri and the earlier editions of Jacobs-Wirz have again been most useful. The later editions of the latter, though in some respects superior to the former ones, are often less helpful. What, for instance, is to be said of the explanation given for the difference in mood of *dehortantur* and *superet* in 31. 1? The reason, we learn, lies

'*darin, dass die Aussage des Hauptsatzes als unbedingt an sich giltig behauptet wird, wozu die im Vorstellungsmodus gegebene Annahme mit *si* nicht eine Voraussetzung enthält,*

<sup>1</sup> In his separate edition of this portion of the *Iugurtha*, Zürich, 1897 (Fäsi and Beer). In this section of my text, all letters not represented in any of his 5 mss. are printed in italics, which are elsewhere reserved for those not represented in any of the *codd. mutili*.



sondern die Angabe des Falles bringt, in welchem die Behauptung ihre Bestätigung finde, und einen Gedanken anschliesst, der erst nach dem Gedanken des Hauptsatzes hinterher entsteht (posteriorisches Verhältniss), und zwar ist in dem Satz mit *ni* ausgedrückt, dass in dem angenommenen Fall die Bestätigung der Behauptung aufgehoben sei.'

The note on *accessissent* (58. 3) is similar, though the old explanation (given in my note) is much simpler and commends itself to such a student of Latinity as Dr J. S. Reid, whose kind help as regards some points on which I consulted him I here gratefully acknowledge.

Quotations from Greek authors I have rendered into English, and, in general, have refrained from citing parallel passages from outside the *Iugurtha*, save when they seemed very necessary or at least likely to relieve the monotony of the Notes. Some of the latter, or parts of them, which dealt with more advanced matters and might be omitted in a first reading, I have marked off by the use of brackets.

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## INTRODUCTION.

### A.

#### SALLUST AS A HISTORIAN AND A STYLIST.

C. SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS was born at the Sabine town of Amiternum in 86 B.C.<sup>1</sup>, only a few years before the civil war which followed Sulla's return from the East. The little that we know of his life relates mainly to his political career. We know that he was a tribune in the troubled year 52 B.C., when he was one of those who, after the death of Clodius, fanned the flame of popular fury against Milo and his defender Cicero<sup>2</sup>. A Sallust was pro-quaestor in Syria in 50 B.C., but it seems improbable that he was the historian<sup>3</sup>. This year saw his expulsion from the senate by the censors<sup>4</sup>, which no doubt helped to make him join Caesar when the civil war broke out. Through Caesar's influence he seems to have held the quaestorship and so re-entered the senate<sup>5</sup>. In 48 he commanded a legion in Illyria<sup>6</sup>. Next year he was sent to pacify Caesar's mutinous troops in Campania; but this was a task reserved for their general, and Sallust had to flee for his life<sup>7</sup>. In the

<sup>1</sup> The dates of his birth and death are given by Jerome.

<sup>2</sup> Asconius tells us this.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. Fam. 2. 17 is written to him.

<sup>4</sup> Dio 40. 63 and § 16 of the invective mentioned on p. xi.

<sup>5</sup> The invective §§ 17 and 21.

<sup>6</sup> Orosius 6. 15. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Appian B.C. 2. 92.

African campaign of the following year, when he was praetor, we find him more successful: he captured some of the enemy's stores at Cercina and brought much-needed supplies to Caesar's camp<sup>1</sup>. At the end of the campaign he was left governor of Numidia<sup>2</sup>. Here he appears to have got his wealth, it is alleged, by extortion<sup>3</sup>. We really know no more of his life beyond his own statement that he retired from political life<sup>4</sup>. Probably the death of Caesar occasioned this act. We know that his house and grounds on the Quirinal hill<sup>5</sup> at Rome were palatial: the Roman emperors afterwards owned them, and his heir was able to imitate Maecenas both in luxury and in intimacy with Augustus<sup>6</sup>. Here, no doubt, he wrote his works and enjoyed his 'precious leisure'<sup>7</sup>. Jerome<sup>8</sup> says he married Cicero's divorced wife Terentia, but he seems to have had no children living at his death and made his sister's grandson his heir<sup>9</sup>. He died in 35, four years before the battle of Actium.

Sallust's reputation has not come down to us in a good light. Expulsion by the censors necessarily implied a certain amount of scandalous living on the part of the person expelled. His own words in the Catiline read like an *apologia pro uita sua*, though he insists on his absolute innocence<sup>10</sup>. As regards definite facts, his intrigue with Milo's wife was vouched for by so serious a writer as Varro<sup>11</sup> and may be regarded as historic. But Suetonius tells us of one Lenaeus, a freedman of Pompey's, who revenged Sallust's abuse of his patron by calling him a licentious glutton and wastrel<sup>12</sup>, and much the same tone is adopted by the writers of the second, third and fourth centuries after Christ<sup>13</sup>. The climax, however, is reached

<sup>1</sup> Bell. Afr. 8 and 34.

<sup>2</sup> Bell. Afr. 97.

<sup>3</sup> The invective § 19. Dio 43. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Cat. 4. 1, cp. Iug. 4. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *horti Sallustiani*, Tac. A. 13. 47, H. 3. 82.

<sup>6</sup> Tac. A. 3. 30. <sup>7</sup> *bonum otium* Cat. 4. 1. <sup>8</sup> Adu. Iou. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Tac. l. c. <sup>10</sup> §§ 4 and 5.

<sup>11</sup> In Aulus Gellius 17. 18.

<sup>12</sup> Suet. Gram. 15.

<sup>13</sup> Gellius, Lactantius, Symmachus, and Macrobius: they lay stress on the difference between the tone of his writings and that of his life.

by a curious composition, purporting to be written by Cicero against Sallust<sup>1</sup>, in which the latter's character is subjected to all the scurrilous abuse which the ancients allowed themselves and which, if well founded, would justify us in regarding our author as a *monstrum nulla uirtute redemptum a uitiiis*. That the work is not Cicero's is clear of course from the style, but, apart from this, it appears as an answer to an invective of Sallust's against Cicero, which precedes it in the MSS. and is exactly similar in style. They probably come from the same hand, a teacher of rhetoric having composed them as a 'fair copy' for his pupils. Wretched as is the style, still, if we can trust Quintilian's MSS., that author cites passages contained in the invective against Cicero, so that it must have been composed before 90 A.D. Indeed, if we once admit that it may have been written by a third-rate rhetorician, we may put the date very much earlier than this. As the brief account of Sallust's life given above shews, we get certain facts from the invective which are borne out by other writers, but the sweeping charges obviously must not be absolutely accepted. I cannot help thinking that Seneca would have mentioned Sallust's immorality, had he regarded him as exceptionally bad<sup>2</sup>.

Two of Sallust's works we possess complete: the *de Coniuratione Catilinae* and the *Iugurtha*. In the former he gives an account of the famous conspiracy, which he, rightly or wrongly, regarded as a serious attempt at revolution. Of his main work, the *Histories*, we possess only fragments—most of them preserved in a collection of the speeches and letters which were introduced by Sallust into his works. That they dealt with the period from Sulla's death to 67 B.C. is generally inferred from various facts, and the extant fragments agree with this theory<sup>3</sup>. So limited a period can hardly be said to involve a departure

<sup>1</sup> *M. Tullii in Sallustium inuectiva*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. for instance his interesting remarks on Maecenas' morals and style, Ep. 114. 4 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See however on 95. 2.

from the intention which he originally set himself—of writing separate essays on epochs of Roman history<sup>1</sup>.

The Romans had not a very clear idea of the functions of the historian. Quintilian<sup>2</sup> says 'history is very near to poetry: it is a kind of poem free from the trammels of metre, written with a view to description rather than proof of any particular point,' and Cicero<sup>3</sup>, whilst maintaining that different laws are to be observed in writing history and in writing poetry, implies that he thought the former a task peculiarly suitable for an orator. The earliest Roman historians actually wrote in Greek: the elder Cato was the first to use Latin for this purpose<sup>4</sup>. The rhetorical tendency is generally assumed to have been very clear in Caelius (Gracchan period), whilst the first trace of critical power is claimed for Claudius Quadrigarius<sup>5</sup> (Sullan period). Cicero implies<sup>6</sup> that Claudius' contemporary, Sisenna, beat all his predecessors, and yet the result was *puerile quiddam*. This author is cited by Sallust<sup>7</sup> in terms of appreciation, and his love of archaism, attested by Cicero, may have helped to form Sallust's style. But the fragments of the early historians are very scanty, and the criticisms of the ancients upon these authors are not always very satisfactory<sup>8</sup>: for us, Roman history begins with Sallust and Caesar. The form of Caesar's writings is unpretentious enough, though skill is displayed in bringing out the merits of the general: their aim is practical. But in Sallust we recognise the predecessor of Livy and Tacitus.

The rhetorical side of Sallust's writings is visible at a glance.

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 4. 2.

<sup>2</sup> 10. 1. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Leg. 1. 4 and 5. The second statement is put in the mouth of Atticus, as a view held by Cicero himself.

<sup>4</sup> For Sallust's debt to Cato see below, p. xvi.

<sup>5</sup> Mainly because, as his first book treated of the Gallic conquest of Rome, it is assumed that he threw overboard all the fabulous period.

<sup>6</sup> l. c. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Iug. 95. 2.

<sup>8</sup> For instance, in Brut. 66, Cicero says Cato's *origines* contained every *florem aut lumen eloquentiae*, and yet in De Or. 2. 53 classes him with historians who do not understand *quibus rebus ornatur oratio*.

He is an imitator of Thucydides<sup>1</sup>, and would be the first scientific historian of Rome. But his introductions and digressions do not compare favourably with those of his original. His moralising is like Seneca's, in the *Quaestiones Naturales*: one wonders whether it is as out of character in Sallust as it certainly was in the other. And in the Iugurtha he often only repeats what he has already observed in the Catiline. Like Thucydides, he is fond of psychology. I need but refer to the almost Vergilian account of Micipsa's perplexity with regard to Masinissa<sup>2</sup>, and the alternative explanations offered, in a manner familiar enough to readers of Tacitus, for the chagrin of Metellus on his supersession by Marius<sup>3</sup>. The speeches again are Thucydidean: they lay no claim to verbal accuracy, even if they reproduced the general sense of what was said. We may judge them by those he puts in the mouths of Caesar and Cato, in the Catiline. There are points in Caesar's speech which, judging from Cicero's fourth speech against Catiline, he probably did make. On the other hand this same speech of Cicero shows that Sallust has omitted an important part of Caesar's proposal. And Caesar begins his oration in a suspiciously Sallustian way. As for Cato's speech, it does not agree well with the other accounts of it, and some of the thoughts contained therein are favourites with Sallust<sup>4</sup>. And so it is with Marius' speech in the Iugurtha: it contains quite a number of translations from the Greek writers<sup>5</sup>, familiar enough no doubt to Sallust, but strange in the mouth of this rough soldier who is so proud of never having learned Greek at all.

It is difficult to indulge a taste for rhetoric, and yet remain

<sup>1</sup> And not only of his style, but in some cases of his phrases and ideas. From the Iugurtha one may instance 7. 5, 60. 4, 84. 1 (see the notes).

<sup>2</sup> 6. 2 and 3.

<sup>3</sup> 82. 3.

<sup>4</sup> The references are given in my ed. of the Catiline, Intr. p. xiii.

<sup>5</sup> These parallels I have not given in the notes, but they are easily accessible in Wirz, and shew that Marius had digested Demosthenes, Lysias and Plato! For the influence of Greek studies on the *grammar* of Sallust, see Index, s.v. 'Grecisms.'



accurate. What care has Sallust taken to ensure that his account is correct and clear? In the Catiline he does not once refer to any literary authority for his statements. In the Iugurtha he does mention Sisenna<sup>1</sup>, as having dealt with Sulla's relations to Marius, and in his description of Africa he cites the *libri Punici* of king Hiempsal<sup>2</sup>. These latter however he might as well have left unread, if we may judge from the ridiculous attempt at ethnography which he has extracted from them. It is also very probable that he used the autobiography of Rutilius Rufus<sup>3</sup>—especially as his account of the battle at the Muthul, in which that officer took a prominent part, is exceptionally vivid and circumstantial<sup>4</sup>. But how little he troubled about details is well seen from the fact that, though as governor of Numidia he had exceptional facilities for studying the country, no one would infer from this book that he had ever seen it. Not a word has he to say of the striking position of Cirta<sup>5</sup>: with all his affected desire for historical fact, he does not note how little the position of the *aræ Philaenorum* accords with the tale which attaches to them<sup>6</sup>. For comparison of records or topographical investigation Sallust has evidently no bent.

Now Livy, though not averse from parading the names of his 'authorities,' shared this dislike for the trouble of research. But, at any rate, by preserving the annalistic form he left us tolerably clear as to his chronology. Not so Sallust. Throughout the whole account of the war, we have but one definite date given—the month of January in which, he says, Albinus made his unfortunate winter expedition<sup>7</sup>. How vague and careless is his use of *interea*, *postremo*, *post paucos dies* etc. may be seen from his account of the events between Iugurtha's return from Spain and Micipsa's death<sup>8</sup>. When we come to the war itself, we find ourselves in a hopeless difficulty. One can only mention

<sup>1</sup> 95. 2.<sup>2</sup> 17. 7.<sup>3</sup> 50. 1 n.<sup>4</sup> S. is fond of the vague *accepi(mus)*, which he often uses in referring to remote periods of history or distant regions (cp. Cat. 6. 1, Iug. 19. 5, 78. 1): in 13. 9 it is used in reference to Adherbal's speech.<sup>5</sup> 23. 1 n.<sup>6</sup> 79. 7 n.<sup>7</sup> 37. 3.<sup>8</sup> See on 9. 3, and for his use of the words *eodem tempore* 74. 1 n.

a few points here. It is quite clear that the siege near the Muluccha of ch. 92 must have happened in the year after the expedition to Capsa of ch. 89 sqq. For the latter took place at the end of the summer<sup>1</sup>, and a glance at the map will shew the distance between the Muluccha and Capsa. Yet Sallust certainly leads us to suppose that both events belonged to the same year<sup>2</sup>, saying not a word about Marius' having withdrawn into winter quarters, as he does later on (*after* the Muluccha expedition<sup>3</sup>). Even the one definite date referred to above gives trouble. Albinus' defeat, he says, took place in *January*. Now on the 1st of January the consuls for the year must have been elected, or, if they were not, they would necessarily enter office the moment they were. In other words the term *designati* could not be applied to them<sup>4</sup>. Yet we are told that *after* Aulus' disaster the 'consules designati' drew lots for their provinces<sup>5</sup>. Here chronology, or knowledge of simple constitutional law, is at fault. Sallust often errs in this last respect<sup>6</sup>. But the fact is, he does not *wish* to be accurate or to give a good account of the war. Otherwise, could he have omitted to say how it was that Cirta, whose capture by Iugurtha brought about the declaration of war, was in Metellus' hands towards the end of his term of office<sup>7</sup>?

There remains the question : was Sallust, apart from temptations of rhetoric, as impartial as he claims to be<sup>8</sup>? It is believed by some scholars that he wrote this work as a glorification of Marius, the uncle of his favourite Caesar. Yet he does not hesitate to refer to the darker episodes of his hero's career<sup>9</sup>, and shew clearly enough how his successes were sometimes due

<sup>1</sup> *aetatis extremum erat* 90. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Read carefully chapters 89—92, and observe that Sulla does not arrive until ch. 95, though of course he must have followed Marius to his province without any long delay.

<sup>3</sup> 97. 3.

<sup>4</sup> See the explanation of the word on 27. 2.

<sup>5</sup> 43. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See Index s.v. 'constitution.'

<sup>7</sup> 81. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Cat. 4. 2 *mihī a spē, metu, partibus reipublicae animus liber erat.*

<sup>9</sup> 63. 6.

to fortune<sup>1</sup>. Mommsen's reply to such arguments is that 'the fact that the author keeps the character of these writings in the background proves not that they are not partisan treatises, but that they are good ones<sup>2</sup>'. Thus every point alleged against his theory only raises his estimate of Sallust's powers. We must be content to note these points, without feeling certain of the deductions to be drawn from them. Sallust's account of Metellus is all that a Cicero could have desired: the attention drawn to his weakness in feeling hurt at Marius' success seems due rather to the idle curiosity of the psychologist than political spite. Nor is there any attempt to cloak Sulla's services to his general: he is clearly the hero of the last engagement in the book.

Sallust's peculiarities as a stylist may be grouped under the heads 'Archaism,' 'Brevity' and 'Variety.'

### I. Archaism.

Asinius Pollio, severest of ancient critics, said that Sallust employed one Ateius Philologus to collect *antiqua uerba et figuras* for his use<sup>3</sup>. Lenaeus taunted him with stealing words from the elder Cato's writings<sup>4</sup>, and others echo this charge<sup>5</sup>. Modern critics believe that many of his peculiarities are due to his having preferred forms which others regarded as only fit for colloquial use. As in English, so in Latin: the popular speech preserved many archaisms, and it is not easy to decide, in the case of any given usage, to which tendency it belongs<sup>6</sup>. The phenomenon itself is clear enough. We have

<sup>1</sup> 92. 2, 94. 7.    <sup>2</sup> R. H. 4, p. 184, note.    <sup>3</sup> Suet. gram. 10.

<sup>4</sup> ib. 15: *Catonis uerborum ineruditissimum furem*.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. Augustus in Suet. Aug. 86, and an epigram in Quint. 8. 3. 29. Direct use of Cato's work can be proved, in spite of the fragmentary state of that writer's literary remains. Cp. with § 85 Cato (ed. Jord. p. 50): *perituri sit, cum mihi ob eos mores quos prius habui honos datur, ubi datus est, tum uti eos mutem atque alii modi sim*. See also 6. 3 n.

<sup>6</sup> Probus and Gellius must mean much the same thing when they call him *uerborum nouator* or speak of his *nouandi studium*. Gellius

(a) *Peculiarities of Construction*<sup>1</sup>.

**Cases:** genitive after *egere* and *potiri*, simple ablative of place with names of countries. **Moods:** the indicative (1) with *quippe qui*, (2) *cum* or *qui* causal, (3) in subordinate clauses of Or. Obl. Here too belong the use of *solet* without an infinitive, *ire* with the supine, *scilicet* with acc. and inf., *uorsus* with a preposition, and the frequent asyndeta. If the reading in 100. 4 were more certain, we might reckon *futurum* as perhaps the most notable archaism in Sallust.

(b) *Peculiarities of Vocabulary*.

Here we have (1) common words in unusual senses (*attinere*, *dolere*, *supplicia*, *uerbum*), (2) uncommon words like *incultus* (noun), *naue*, *prosapia* and (3) words and phrases avoided by Cicero and Caesar, or used by them in a different sense (*cupido*, *facundia*, *munificentia*, *necessitudo*; *extorris*; *ductare*, *grassari*, *patrare*; *super=de*; *nulla sunt*).

Sometimes the vocabulary and constructions give a poetical colour to his style. As examples one may mention his use of such words as *mortales*, *uecordia*; *profugus*; *uoluere* (=ponder); of adjectives (especially along with a partitive genitive) as nouns; of adverbs or prepositional phrases as equivalents for adjectives. Here too seem to belong *cetera* as accusative of respect, *que...que* in coordination, and the free use of the infinitive.

Of archaic forms, such as meet us in Lucretius, we find few. He has a few nominatives like *odos*, *luxu* for the dative, *senati* (but see on 25. 11), *neglegisset*, *-ere* almost always in the third

indeed definitely says in one passage *noua uideri dico etiam ea quae sunt immutata et desita, etsi sunt uetusta*. S. certainly has words whose previous existence we cannot prove (e.g. *incruentus* 92. 4): some indeed—*discordiosus* (66. 2) for instance—are never used by any other good writer.

<sup>1</sup> All the exx. cited will be found in the Index, esp. under 'cases' and 'moods.'

person plural of the perfect, *diu noctuque*, and so forth: also the rare *nequius*, the form *conperior* and the active forms of a good many verbs that are generally deponents. Besides this, the spelling is throughout that of an early period.

## II. Brevity.

This feature of Sallust's style is referred to by the ancients even more frequently than his love of archaisms, sometimes simply by speaking of his *brevitas*, sometimes by longer explanatory expressions, such as *nihil demi sine detrimento sensus potest*<sup>1</sup>; *amputatae sententiae et uerba ante expectatum cadentia*<sup>2</sup>; *abruptum sermonis genus*<sup>3</sup>. The reference seems in the main to the brevity of his sentences, his complete disregard for the period<sup>4</sup>. The editors cite also his ellipses (especially of the verb *sum*) and his asyndeta. To these may be added his free use of the present participle where the best writers employ a dependent clause, and of appositional phrases instead of relative sentences. See also Index under 'Brevity,' 'Symmetry' and 'Zeugma.' As definite examples of compression of thought one may select the famous description of Hiempsal's death, where the assassins find his hiding place and—carry his head to Jugurtha<sup>5</sup>; or sentences like 100. 4 (*ipse armatus intentusque item milites cogebat*), and above all 112. 3 'a man of high birth would not be left—through no fault of his own, but on the contrary in the service of the state—in the enemy's hands.' This last example exhibits the fault that commonly attends on brevity—obscurity: another example of this is to be found in his rapid survey of the African coast of

<sup>1</sup> Sen. Contr. 9. 1. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Sen. Ep. 114. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Quint. 4. 2. 45. Other passages will be found in Teuffel 206. 6.

<sup>4</sup> The second passage quoted clearly refers to this: cp. Cic. Or. 168 sqq. where he speaks of the older writers who did not use the period (*conclusio*), and the expression *apte uerba cecidissent* of § 168 is opposed to *infracta et amputata loquuntur* of § 170. So Quint. 10. 2. 17 speaks of imitators of Thucydides and Sallust *praecisis conclusionibus obscuri*. The endings of both the Catiline and the Jugurtha are very abrupt.

<sup>5</sup> 12. 6.

the Mediterranean<sup>1</sup>. One might, I think, fairly call Sallust's style 'breathless,' in view of the hurried way in which he throws in a parenthesis, long or short<sup>2</sup>, with the appearance of one who is hastening on to more important matters—in fact, as was said of his model Thucydides, *brevi et semper instans sibi*.

### III. Variety.

Attention has been drawn to this so often in the notes<sup>3</sup> that it is not necessary to say much here. Here I note in order: 4. 2 *quia multi dixere... simul ne quis existimet*, 14. 3 *uellem... possem... deberi beneficia... uti uterer*, 17. 5 *frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbore infecundus*, 32. 3 *fuere qui... alii... pars*, 46. 4 *persuadet uti... sin procedat... traderent*, 74. 3 *armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti*, 82. 3 *quam rem alii in superbiam uortebant, alii ingenium... accensum esse, multi quod... uictoria eriperetur*, 97. 3 *munimento* (dative) *fore et... nullo impedimento*, 108. 1 *praemissus orator et... speculatum*. The combination of indicative and historic infinitive (30. 3, 47. 4, 94. 4) is, I suppose, due to the same cause. Yet this does not always prevent monotony, as is shewn by the commonness of such words and phrases as *ad hoc, agitare, artes, habere*<sup>4</sup>, *mortales, ea tempestate* and slovenly repetitions (e.g. of *procedere* thrice in 6 lines: 21. 1 and 2).

Both as a historian and as a stylist Sallust was highly esteemed by the ancients—not only by foolish people like Arruntius<sup>5</sup>, who slavishly copied his unusual expressions and introduced them at every turn, or in a conventional way (as, for example, by Martial<sup>6</sup>), but by Quintilian<sup>7</sup> and, above all, by

<sup>1</sup> 19. 3 n.

<sup>2</sup> A short one 63. 3, a long one forming chapters 41 and 42: his use of the pluperfect (72. 1 n.) is characteristic of his way of looking forward to the end.

<sup>3</sup> See Index s.v. 'variation.'

<sup>4</sup> In very diverse senses: see Index s.v.

<sup>5</sup> An amusing account in Sen. Ep. 114. 17.

<sup>6</sup> *primus Romana Crispus in historia* Mart. 14. 191.

<sup>7</sup> Who calls him greater than Livy (2. 5. 19) and equal to Thucydides (10. 1. 101).

Tacitus, who called him *rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor*<sup>1</sup> and by the imitation of his style, and sometimes his matter<sup>2</sup>, gave a still more eloquent testimony to his opinion. That the antiquarian age of Fronto and Gellius admired him is of course not surprising and of no great importance<sup>3</sup>. The voice of detraction arose mainly against his affectation of archaism<sup>4</sup>, though we find his obscurity and bold use of metaphors censured<sup>5</sup>. The elder Seneca<sup>6</sup> implies that Livy depreciated him, and the difference between the temperaments of the two men makes it probable. Our own estimate of his powers would probably be much higher if we possessed the whole of the Histories, his chief and most mature work.

## B.

THE ROMAN ARMY AT THE TIME OF THE  
IUGURTHINE WAR.

ANY account of this kind is rendered difficult by the fact that, though we know that the Roman army of Caesar's time, fifty years later, was very different from that which Polybius describes forty years earlier than our period, we nevertheless can only guess when the changes took place, and so are often unable to say whether in the campaigns of Metellus and Marius the old or the new system prevailed. The reforms are generally attributed to the influence of Marius. But the Romans set a praiseworthy example to posterity in their readiness to adapt their military institutions to the requirements of the wars in which they engaged, and the mountain skirmishing in the Alps region, the guerilla warfare in Numidia, and the impetuous rush of the Cimbrian hordes probably had most to do with the

<sup>1</sup> A. 3. 30.<sup>2</sup> See Index s.v. 'Tacitus.'<sup>3</sup> Cp. Teuffel 206. 10.<sup>4</sup> e.g. Asinius Pollio and Lenaeus quoted above.<sup>5</sup> By Ateius Philologus, Suet. gram. 10. For Sallust's metaphors see Index.<sup>6</sup> Contr. 9. 1. 14.

abandonment of the system which had proved effective against the regulars of Macedon and Syria. Some of the changes we know to be due to Marius, and some of the features of the old system appear in this war for the last time. But even if we felt sure that the whole change was his work, it would not be likely that it was effected until the experience of the Cimbrian as well as the Jugurthine war had proved its desirability. It would still be certain that the period before us was one of transition.

The levy seems still, as in Polybius' time, to have taken place every year. In those days, at any rate, four legions were regularly enrolled. Whether the troops of last year were disbanded, whether more than the usual number of fresh ones should be raised—this was for the senate to decide<sup>1</sup>. The task of finding the men belonged to the consuls, who regularly divided the troops equally between themselves<sup>2</sup>.

To each consul who was to conduct a war was assigned a certain number of senators, chosen to assist him therein by advice or performance of actual military duties. These are the *legati*: in many respects they represent the staff of modern times. Marius and Rutilius held this position under Metellus, and Manlius under Marius when he became commander-in-chief<sup>3</sup>. Besides these, the general had at his disposal one of the lower magistrates called *quaestors*. The quaestor's duties

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 84. 2 where Marius demands *legionibus supplementum* etc., 3 *neque senatus...abnuere audebat...supplementum etiam laetus decreverat*.

<sup>2</sup> If one consul obviously needed more than the other, the rule would not be observed. M. indeed set out *cum aliquanto maiore numero quam decretum erat* 86. 4. How many legions there were in Africa is quite uncertain: the fact that a *tertia legio* was there (38. 6) only shews that at least three had been levied. As an actual fact the first and third legions generally went to one consul, the second and fourth to the other.

<sup>3</sup> See 46. 7, 50. 1, 60. 1, 86. 1. Aulus Albinus was probably his brother's legate: he is called *legatus* in 38. 1. The appointment lay practically in the consul's hand: see 28. 4.



were mainly those of a paymaster, but he reckoned as second in command and it was he, not one of the legates, who regularly represented the chief in his absence. Marius, coming in hot haste to Africa, leaves his quaestor behind to collect cavalry and follow after<sup>1</sup>.

The levy however was not in the hands of legates or quaestor, but was conducted by the *tribuni militum*<sup>2</sup>. The Roman legion had not, until the time of Caesar, a fixed commander. Its highest officers were the six tribunes, colleagues of absolutely equal powers, which they exercised by dividing themselves into three pairs and delegating the chief authority to each pair for two months. The tribunes of the four legions regularly raised were magistrates, elected by the comitia<sup>3</sup>, like the consuls themselves, for a single year. In Polybius' time a candidate must have seen at least five years' service, and something of the kind was probably still required in Cicero's time. We then find men of good birth beginning their career by serving, nominally as common soldiers, but really as 'orderlies' or the like, in close attendance on the general or some officer of high rank. This is the *contubernium* (lit. 'living in the same tent') in which we find the younger son of Metellus at the time when Marius wished to stand for the consulship, and it probably gave the right to become a candidate for the tribunate<sup>4</sup>.

On the day appointed for the levy the tribunes, after deciding

<sup>1</sup> See 29. 4, 95. 1, 103. 4. In the last passage Sulla is left as Marius' representative. It was perhaps part of Spurius Albinus' crime that he left his brother instead (36. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Officially a defining genitive (*militum*, or *legionum* as in 46. 7), or the adjective *militaris* (66. 3), was necessary to distinguish them from the far more important *tribuni plebis*. Other reff. to tribunes: 59. 1, 60. 1, 100. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Hence the full title *tr. mil. a populo* (cp. 63. 4). If more than four legions were enrolled, the consuls, not the people, appointed their tribunes: these were not magistrates and were not *a populo*.

<sup>4</sup> 64. 4. The *cohors praetoria* (see below, p. xxvii) must have served much the same purpose.

by lot to what legions they themselves were to belong, proceeded to select their men. In Polybius' time all citizens whom the censors assessed at 4000 *asses* or more<sup>1</sup> must present themselves: the poorer classes were normally employed for the fleet, for the legions only in time of crisis. We know from Sallust that Marius changed this, admitting all alike without distinction to the army<sup>2</sup>—a change which rapidly demoralised the citizen army of the Republic into the mercenary force of the Empire.

The cavalry were chosen first. For this only a certain class of citizens was eligible—a class fixed, apparently, by considerations of age, birth and wealth<sup>3</sup>. Each legion received 300, each of the contingents being divided into 10 *turmae*<sup>4</sup>. But the Roman cavalry of the legion had been found feeble in the Hannibalic war, and later on, in Spain, had shewn all the weaknesses of an aristocratic corps—arrogance and mutiny. In Caesar's time they were no longer attached in this way to each legion: the *equites Romani* of his army appear only as officers<sup>5</sup>, or in personal attendance on the general. When the change was made is quite uncertain. In the Iugurtha *equites Romani* are twice mentioned in connection with the army: one of the references is quite indefinite<sup>6</sup>, the other shews that they

<sup>1</sup> i.e. all belonging to one or other of the five classes of the Centuriate assembly.

<sup>2</sup> 86. 2 and notes.

<sup>3</sup> The class which, in the Gracchan period at least and later, formed the second class of the community (next to the senators): see 42. 1, 65. 4. Its property qualification in the Ciceronian period is known: whether it was always the same is uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> As shewn further on, it is doubtful if these *turmae* of legionary cavalry existed now in the ordinary military sense. All cavalry divisions were called by the name: e.g. the cavalry section of the *cohors praetoria* 98. 1; in 38. 3, 91. 1, 99. 1 the word clearly means 'cavalry' as opposed to 'infantry.' In 50. 5 *Romanorum turma* is quite general, and means 'Metellus' cavalry' as opposed to Iugurtha's.

<sup>5</sup> They would be tribunes or *praefecti socium* (see p. xxviii). Cp. especially Caes. B. C. 7. 65 *tribunis militum reliquisque equitibus Romanis*.

<sup>6</sup> 65. 4 *equites Romani, milites et negotiatores*.

were sometimes employed to form a guard of honour to foreign princes whose dignity Rome wished to recognise<sup>1</sup>. Perhaps this was one of the stages through which these corps passed to actual disbandment. There is however, another passage<sup>2</sup> where Sallust may be referring to Roman cavalry, and if so they were evidently even then used in the old way. He tells us that Metellus marched in the van, Marius with *cavalry* in the rear, and *auxiliary cavalry* were stationed on the flanks. This certainly implies that the cavalry with Marius was Roman. It may however have been that which was furnished by the Italian allies<sup>3</sup>. It is worth noting that Sallust never names the *decuriones* or leaders of the legionary cavalry, though he *does* mention cavalry leaders in general terms<sup>4</sup>. If these separate legionary contingents *did* survive till Marius' time, he was just the man to delight in breaking up so aristocratic an institution.

The cavalry enrolled, each tribe was called up in order settled by lot, and a certain number of its men chosen to serve and divided equally between the legions<sup>5</sup>. When the full tale of the latter was made up (numbers varied, but 4200 probably represents the average), proceedings closed with the administration of the oath to the men: one soldier from each legion actually took this, the rest being simply called up in turn to say the words *idem in me*.

In Polybius' time a legion contained four different classes of infantry. The *Triarii* (the oldest troops) were always 600 in number: the rest of the legion consisted of equal numbers of *Principes* (the next in age to the *Triarii*), *Hastati*, and *Velites* (the poorest citizens<sup>6</sup>). The *Velites* were an institution adopted when, in the Hannibalic war, the legionary cavalry were

<sup>1</sup> 65. 2 *custodiae causa, turmam equitum Romanorum*.

<sup>2</sup> 46. 7.

<sup>3</sup> For 'auxiliary' in the sense 'non-Italian' see p. xxix.

<sup>4</sup> 38. 3 *centuriones ducesque turmarum*.

<sup>5</sup> From Liu. 42. 35, I gather the centurions were appointed before this. But Polybius says this was done some time after the levy.

<sup>6</sup> The common soldier, legionary or otherwise, is called *gregarius*. For 'officer' the Romans had no word.

found no match for the crack Campanian horse. They were armed with a round shield, leather helmet, some light javelins and the short Spanish sword<sup>1</sup>, and were trained to ride in charge or retreat behind the cavalrymen: when it came to a standing fight, they leaped down and fought between the ranks of horsemen. The Velites are mentioned for the last time in connection with this war<sup>2</sup>. Each of the other classes was divided into ten units, called *manipuli*<sup>3</sup>, each containing two centuries<sup>4</sup>. The commanders of these last, the centurions, were the pick of the Roman army. They were appointed by the tribunes as being 'not so much bold and fond of danger as men with a faculty for command, absolutely steady, with courage of the deep-lying rather than showy kind, men who will not be in a hurry to begin the battle but in the face of superior numbers will die in defence of their post<sup>5</sup>.' In many respects these centurions<sup>6</sup> correspond to our own non-commissioned officers: they came from the ranks, and often had to make up for the incapacity of young officers by their own knowledge of the work. On the other hand they sometimes tyrannised over the men, making excessive use of their right to inflict corporal punishment on them<sup>7</sup>. In every legion was a chief centurion, the *primipilus*<sup>8</sup>, who was regularly admitted to the

<sup>1</sup> 105. 2 *uelitaribus armis*.

<sup>2</sup> 46. 7. The practice itself was still resorted to in case of need: cp. the tactics of Iug. in 59. 3.

<sup>3</sup> lit. 'handful' (*manus pleo*), and regularly used e.g. of a wisp of straw. A maniple of Triarii would contain 60, the others 120 men. Each had a *signum*: these *ordines*, often mentioned, sometimes along with the *signa* (45. 2, 51. 1, 80. 2, 97. 5), sometimes alone (49. 6, 50. 4, 101. 2), probably denote maniples, though *ordo* generally means a century.

<sup>4</sup> 91. 1 *per centurias*.

<sup>5</sup> So Polybius tells us.

<sup>6</sup> Centurions are mentioned in 38. 3, 66. 3, 93. 8.

<sup>7</sup> For this purpose they carried a staff of vine wood (*uitis*). Tacitus tells us of one who was called 'old Give-us-another' (*cedo alteram*) by the men, from his habit of breaking staves over their backs.

<sup>8</sup> 38. 6 *centurio primi pili*. Such a case of treachery as is there related is rare indeed among these men.

general's Council<sup>1</sup> and whose position was the highest to be reached, under ordinary circumstances, by one who started in the ranks. These chief centurions were often great personages in the provincial towns to which they retired on getting their discharge. The first maniple of the *hastati* was called *primus* (*ordo*) *hastatus*, the next *secundus hastatus* and so on<sup>2</sup>. Then come *primus princeps* and the rest of the maniples of the *principes*. The maniples of the *triarii* were called *pili*, so that here we begin with *primus pilus*. As for the centurions in each maniple, one probably ranked as superior to the other: this was certainly so in the *primus pilus*, one of whose centurions was the chief centurion of the legion referred to above<sup>3</sup>. In battle, in earlier times at least, the troops stood in a triple line; first the *hastati*, then the *principes*<sup>4</sup>, last the *triarii*: the first two lines with the distinctive Roman javelin (*pilum*), the rear rank with the spear. But in Caesar's time all troops carried the *pilum*, though the names of the three classes still remained to denote the centuries. We know Marius introduced an improvement in the construction of the *pilum*<sup>5</sup>: perhaps he extended

<sup>1</sup> So Polybius tells us. In Caesar we find the centurions of the *primi ordines* admitted here, but it is quite uncertain what these words mean. [It seems assumed that they cannot mean 'first centuries of each legion.']

<sup>2</sup> Liu. 42. 34 *mihi decimum ordinem hastatum adsignavit*.

<sup>3</sup> The centuries of a maniple were distinguished as *prior* and *posterior*: Liu. l.c. *cui primum hastatum prioris centuriae adsignaret... mihi primus princeps prioris centuriae est adsignatus*. Yet Polybius seems to carefully avoid saying that one of the two centurions commanded the maniple. In the case of the *primus pilus* matters are complicated by the fact that we never find a *primus pilus prioris centuriae* or a *primus pilus posterioris centuriae* mentioned, but only the *primus pilus*. In later times it appears there *was* only one centurion for it, but in earlier times the authorities regularly speak of 60 centurions.

<sup>4</sup> At a still earlier period the *hastati* doubtless came second, and the *principes* meant what it should mean, 'men of the front rank.'

<sup>5</sup> The iron head of the javelin was fastened by pins to the wooden shaft. M. had one of these pins made of wood, so that when the

its use to all files, but this is not certain, and there is nothing in the Iugurtha to prove how they were armed at the time of this war. For marching and other purposes three maniples (one of each class) were sometimes grouped together to form a separate unit, to which the name of *cohort* was given. In Caesar's time indeed this cohort, and not the maniples, was the regular fighting unit. Doubtless with enemies like the Gauls, who relied on at once shattering the Roman line, it was found necessary to strengthen its unit. In the Iugurtha we find the manipular arrangement still in force under Metellus<sup>1</sup>: cohorts are however mentioned as being detached, in battle or otherwise, for special purposes<sup>2</sup>.

The only other body of Roman troops to be found in the army was the general's bodyguard—*cohors praetoria*, introduced, we are told, by the younger Scipio. The word *cohors* implies that it consisted, at least mainly, of infantry: Scipio and Marius however seem to have preferred cavalry<sup>3</sup>. One authority tells us that Scipio selected for this duty his friends and clients, another says that he chose the bravest men of the army. Evidently the immediate claims of friendship counted before the remote ones of ultimate safety: Sallust implies that Marius was an exception in selecting his guard with regard to their courage. This institution developed greatly in later times, eventually becoming the Praetorian Guard of Imperial times.

Whenever a levy was held, the various *socii*, or Italian javelin stuck in the shield of an enemy the wooden nail would break and the iron one would bend, and the heavy wooden shaft instead of standing straight out would hang down and encumber the man.

<sup>1</sup> 49. 6 *aciem instruxit, inter manipulos funditores...dispertit.*

<sup>2</sup> 51. 3 (posted 'against the enemy's infantry'), 100. 4 (sent *ex-cubitus in portas*). *Cohortes expeditae* are thrice mentioned, but are perhaps not legionary cohorts at all (contrast *expediti manipuli* in 100. 2). In 55. 4, 56. 3 the simple *cohortes* tells us nothing, except that infantry are meant.

<sup>3</sup> Appian calls the force of Scipio *ταγμα*—the exact equivalent of *turma* in Sallust (*cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis magis quam familiarissimis parauerat* 98. 1).

communities allied with Rome (and foremost among them the Latin colonies<sup>1</sup>), had to supply troops, infantry and cavalry, according to the terms of the treaty between them and the Capital. The actual levying was left to them: each community sent its contingent (*cohors*<sup>2</sup>) under a native commander (*prae-fectus*) to a *rendez-vous* appointed by the consul. The force thus raised did not form an independent army, but was attached to the consular ones: to each consular army, consisting normally of 8400 infantry and 600 cavalry, we find in the books of Livy dealing with the first half of the second century B.C. allied troops added to the amount of 10 to 15 thousand infantry, and 5 to 8 hundred cavalry. The tendency to require more men from the allies than they supplied themselves grew with the Romans—especially when their own cavalry began to be useless. Polybius in his account of the Roman camp says that the number of the allied cavalry was three times that of the Roman. This pressure of military service upon them was of course one of the grievances that brought on the great Italian war of the next century<sup>3</sup>. In the battle-line the *socii* fought on the flanks, and the force for a consular army was accordingly divided into two *alae*—left and right wings. Each *ala* was under six *prae-fecti socium*<sup>4</sup>, Roman officers appointed by the

<sup>1</sup> Hence *socii et nomen (nomenque) Latinum* 39. 2, 43. 4 and (quite exceptionally) *Latium et socii* 95. 1. The full expression of 40. 2 *homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos* is also very unusual.

<sup>2</sup> *Paeligna cohors* 105. 2: see also below, p. xxix<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Especially as their position in the army was one of inferiority. *Provocatio*, the right of appeal against a capital sentence was open to the lowest Roman soldier, but not to the Latin officer, as the case of Turpilius shews (ch. 69). [On the other hand I do not think it has been noted that this man had received great power from the general, being (as 66. 3 shews) in command over the Roman tribunes.]

<sup>4</sup> That they were 6 in number, not 3, is probable in itself and, I believe with Mommsen (St. R. 3. 675), consistent with Polybius' account. These *prae-fecti socium* are apparently called *pr. cohortium* in 46. 7—unless indeed the native commanders referred to above are there meant.

consul and corresponding to the tribunes of the legion. One would also expect to find the *ala*, like the legion, divided into companies of equal size, and it is generally assumed by modern scholars<sup>1</sup> that it did contain 10 such companies, called *cohortes*. If so, this kind of cohort must at least sometimes have been distinct from the cohort described above, the contingent of a community, for these (as there hinted) cannot all have been of the same strength. The whole question is very uncertain, no information being really accessible in the ancient writers: all we *do* know is that to allied, and indeed all non-Roman infantry, the word *cohors* is regularly applied in contra-distinction to the legions and maniples of Rome<sup>2</sup>. The cavalry were divided, like those of Rome, into *turmae*<sup>3</sup>.

From the times of the Punic wars the Romans also used the troops of foreign countries, especially those with which they were warring or had warred. These men served generally as mercenaries, and as light troops. The employment of this kind of forces became more and more common: in the Iugurtha we meet with Balearic slingers, Ligurian infantry, Numidian and Thracian horse<sup>4</sup>.

According to some ancient authorities the terms *auxilia*, *auxiliarius* applied strictly speaking to these foreign troops alone, and was not used to denote the *socii*. Sallust however uses *auxilia*, not only, for brevity's sake, to denote Italian and foreign troops together, but even for those solely composed of Italians<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Marquardt (St. V. 2. 398 sqq.) for example. He is anything but clear and leaves it quite doubtful whether he reckons two kinds of auxiliary cohort or not. The Dict. of Antiquities of course reproduces his account.

<sup>2</sup> See 58. 5 (*cohortes sociorum*), 99. 1 (where *cohortium* and *turmarum* are opposed to *legionum*). See also notes 4 and 5 below.

<sup>3</sup> See p. xxiii<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Balearic slingers 105. 1 (cp. 49. 6, 94. 3, 100. 2), *cohors Ligurum* 38. 6, 77. 4, 100. 2, Numidian horse 68. 2, *turmae Thracum* 38. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Thus, not only such expressions as 43. 4, 84. 2, but even *ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia accersere* 39. 2. This makes it impossible



Of the Roman army as a working force this book of Sallust gives a vivid picture, and to it I refer the reader who has accompanied me in the examination of its constituent parts. There, apart from the pitched battles and stormings<sup>1</sup>, and surprises<sup>2</sup>, we may learn the nature and uses of their storm and siege apparatus<sup>3</sup>, and note the care with which their best generals conducted their marches<sup>4</sup> and managed their camps<sup>5</sup>—the latter perhaps the most characteristic of all their institutions.—These are the points of which Polybius remarks with such enthusiasm: ‘I cannot imagine anyone so indifferent to noble things, to really important things, as to refuse to take a little extra trouble to understand matters whose nature is such that, if once he hears them, he will know one of those things that are really worth knowing.’ And the excellence of that army and its system is attested by the imitation with which their enemies, including Iugurtha himself, paid it the highest of tributes<sup>6</sup>. Not only he, but Arminius and Tacfarinas learnt how to fight Rome’s legions by service in her army. And the conflict in which Rome and the Italy whose warriors she had trained at length engaged, was a conflict in which neither of the combatants were defeated.

to say what he means by *cohortes auxiliae* (87. 1, 93. 2) or *equites auxiliaarii* (46. 7, 90. 2, 100. 4), which may signify either non-Italian or non-Roman troops.

<sup>1</sup> Especially that of Zama, a lively description (ch. 57).

<sup>2</sup> As in 97. 3 sqq. (esp. *orbis facere* in § 5).

<sup>3</sup> *Arietes* (76. 6), *testudo* 94. 3, *tormenta* ib., *uineae* etc. 21. 3 (notes).

<sup>4</sup> Metellus in 46. 6, Marius in 100. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Metellus in 45. 2, Marius 100. 4. For the instructive phrase *castra munire* see on 44. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Observe (1) his Roman methods for storming Cirta 21. 3, (2) his *manipuli* and *turmae* 49. 2, (3) his *uelites* 59. 3, (4) his drilling of the Gaetulians (80. 2).

C.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE  
IUGURTHINE WAR<sup>1</sup>.

- 133 B.C. Fall of Numantia : Iugurtha returns to Numidia (8. 2).  
 118 Death of Micipsa (11. 2).  
 118-112 Murder of Hiempsal (12); war between Iug. and  
 Adherbal followed by Roman interference (13-16); on  
 the renewal of hostilities Adherbal is blockaded in  
 Cirta and two embassies<sup>2</sup> from Rome do nothing  
 (20-25).  
 112 Fall of Cirta (26).  
 111 (Consuls : Scipio Nasica and Bestia.)  
 War declared with Iug.<sup>3</sup> Bestia invades Numidia, but  
 is bribed and gives Iug. favourable terms. On his  
 return (for the elections) Memmius attacks him.  
 Iug. is brought to Rome, but owing to Baebius' veto,  
 nothing is gained<sup>4</sup> (27-34).  
 110 (Consuls : Spurius Albinus and Minucius Rufus.)  
 Iug. gets Massiua murdered and is expelled from Rome.  
 Albinus, beginning operations late in the year<sup>5</sup>, has to

<sup>1</sup> So far as possible Sallust's account of this war is followed. The dates of events before 111 have to be inferred from the *Periochae* or summaries of the last books of Livy, and this can only be done with approximate accuracy. The dates of the consuls are certain. The chief other authorities are (1) Velleius (lived under Tiberius), (2) the Greek Plutarch in his life of Marius, (3) Eutropius (4th century), (4) Orosius (5th century). The information given by the three Latin writers is very meagre, but is probably based on Livy's account. Cicero, Gellius and others also refer to *incidents* of the war.

<sup>2</sup> That Cirta itself fell in 112 is tolerably certain, as the war doubtless followed quickly after that event. And the second embassy probably preceded the fall by only a short interval (Adherbal was in great straits, and had been besieged five months, before it set out : see 24. 3).

<sup>3</sup> S. certainly implies that this was done in 112. But Val. Max. says definitely (7. 5. 2) *P. Scipio Nasica qui consul Iugurthae bellum indixit*.

<sup>4</sup> As Memmius was still in office (as tribune) this event must be dated not later than Dec. 9 of this year.

<sup>5</sup> 36. 1 distinctly implies this : see note.

return (for the elections) before achieving anything of importance. He leaves his brother Aulus in command. Elections hindered by the action of two tribunes (35—37. 2).

Aulus' winter campaign<sup>1</sup> and capitulation. On the rejection of the latter by the senate, Spurius (after holding the elections) returns to the province (37. 3—39).

Metellus receives charge of the war (43. 1).

109 (Consuls : Metellus and Silanus.)

The *rogatio Mamilia* becomes *lex*<sup>2</sup> (40).

Metellus in Africa (44—45). First campaign (46—60), in which he occupies Vaga (47), engages Iug. at the Muthul (48. 3—53), suffers a surprise at the hands of Iug.'s cavalry (54. 9, 10) and takes Sicca (56), but has to abandon the siege of Zama<sup>3</sup> (57—61. 1).

Winter-quarters in the *prouincia* : Iug. begins, and then abandons, surrender (61. 4—62). Marius applies for leave of absence to stand for the consulship<sup>4</sup> but is refused : his change of conduct (63—65).

108 Vaga revolts, but is promptly recovered. Failure of Bomilcar's plot against the life of Iug. (66—72).

Marius leaves for Rome and is elected consul<sup>5</sup> (73).

<sup>1</sup> S. definitely says this was in Jan. of next year. But see on 37. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The *rogatio* may have been *proposed* in 110 : the exact date when, after long opposition, it became *lex* is unknown.

<sup>3</sup> *videt...iam aestatem exactam esse* 61. 1.

<sup>4</sup> It is practically impossible to know when we pass from 109 to 108 (see p. xxxiii<sup>5</sup>), and some of these events here chronicled under one year may belong to the other. S. however implies in 62. 9, 10 that Iug.'s resumption of hostilities and the senate's resolution as to the province were almost simultaneous, and the latter seems to have been decided at the beginning of the year. And the revolt of Vaga certainly followed Iug.'s renewal of war.

<sup>5</sup> S. certainly means that he left before the campaign began : his words in 73. 1 imply it, and he makes him take no part in the campaign. Plutarch however gives quite a different account.

Metellus' second campaign (74—83), in which he takes Thala (75, 76) and garrisons Leptis (77—79) and forces Iug. to ally himself with Bocchus (80, 81), but on hearing that he is superseded by Mancinus' law<sup>1</sup> takes no further active measures.

107 Marius, as consul, admits all Romans to the legions and crosses to Africa. Finding the enemy unwilling to meet him he marches to Capsa late in the summer<sup>2</sup> and takes it (84—91). *During this year he must have been joined by Sulla* (95. 1): *winter-quarters are not mentioned by S.*<sup>3</sup>

[106<sup>4</sup>] Marius marches to the neighbourhood of the Muluccha and takes a fortress (92. 5—94). On his way back to winter-quarters he is twice attacked by the combined forces of Iug. and Bocchus (97—99, 101). Sulla interviews the latter, without immediate result (102).

Winter-quarters in the coast towns (100. 1, 103. 1).

Marius takes the *turris regia* and grants a request from Bocchus to give his envoys safe conduct to Rome: they receive encouragement from the senate (103, 104).

[?105<sup>5</sup>] Marius, at the king's request, sends Sulla to him with the result that Iug. is at length treacherously surrendered to that officer (105—113).

105 Battle of Arausio.

(October)

104 Marius, consul for the second time, celebrates his triumph.

<sup>1</sup> 82. 2 compared with 73. 7. Exactly when this law passed we cannot say, as we do not know whether Mancinus was tribune from Dec. 10, 109 or Dec. 10, 108 onwards.

<sup>2</sup> *aestatis extremum erat 90. 1.*

<sup>3</sup> For these points see p. xv.

<sup>4</sup> See p. xv.

<sup>5</sup> Here again we are passing imperceptibly into the year 105, as the allusion to the battle of Arausio as taking place *per idem tempus* (114. 1) shews. Cp. p. xxxii<sup>4</sup> above.

## VARIATIONS FROM JORDAN'S TEXT (third ed.).

<i>Jordan</i>	<i>This edition</i>
1. 5 multaue	multumque
3. 1 [iis] fuit	fuit
4. 7 eis	his
10. 2 honorausti	onerausti
14. 1 adfinium loco	in adfinium locum
24 uiuere	iure
18. 9 ei	hi
28. 5 artes et animi	artes animi
32. 1 saepe in.....	saepius
35. 10 urbem—inuenerit	'urbem—inuenerit'
47. 2 et si paterentur oppor- tunitates	si paterentur et opportunitatis
53. 5 fessi	fessi laetique
67. 3 aut casu	an casu
70. 2 carum	clarum
73. 7 paulo.....	paulo ante senatus Metello Numi- diam
89. 7 idque ibi ut qua—agebant	id ibique et quae—agebat
92. 1 incommodo.....	incommodo peregit
3 plura.....	plura deserta
8 praecisum.....	praecisum ea
93. 3 faciundi.....	faciundi animum uortit
94. 1 e centuriis	escensuri
95. 3 et Latinis doctissimi	atque Latinis doctissime
97. 5 [ueteres nouique].....et ob ea	ueteres nouique ob ea quae supra memorauimus aequae
100. 1 [cooperat in hiberna].....	cooperat in hiberna proficiscitur: nam
102. 14 actutum	ac tum

VARIATIONS FROM JORDAN'S TEXT xxxv

	<i>Jordan</i>	<i>This edition</i>
103. 1	Turrim Regiam	turrim regiam
5	avaritiae Romanorum	Romanorum avaritiae
104. 1	ubi	postquam
	infecto	confecto
	ab Utica	[ab Tucca]
	Billienum	Fellienum
	praetorem	praetorem Utica
2	legatis	in quis legatis
	fit	fieret
3	omnibus	omnibus rebus
	eis	his
4	Romae	Romaeque
105. 1	petiuerat	petiuit
	de communibus	communibus
2	peditum item ( <i>before</i> funditorum)	<i>omitted</i>
	aduorsus	aduorsum
108. 2	consulta—habere <i>after</i> deligeret	<i>after</i> pertimesceret
	consulta	consulto
3	Romanum	Romanos
109. 1	pauca	pauca se
	aut nullo	nullo
3	tum	nunc
	sunt	<i>omitted</i>
110. 2	indigui	indigus
3	animum meum	meum animum
111. 1	polliceatur	polliceretur
	faciundum	faciundum ei
	tunc	tum
114. 1	illimque	illique et

There are several misprints in Jordan: 95. 3 *iam prope* for *prope iam*, 98. 1 *eo aspero* for *eo tam aspero*, 103. 5 *fama* for *famam*, 106. 3 *ac* omitted, 109. 1 *Apare* for *Aspare*, 111. 1 *pateret* for *peteret*, 112. 2 *omnia*, 112. 3 *hominum* for *hominem*. The first four are faithfully reproduced in the only English edition I have seen.

## NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY.

Archaic or other unusual spellings in which I have followed Jordan may cause beginners some trouble. The following should be noted:

CU is printed for *quu*: *relicum, secuntur*.

I       ,,    in the acc. pl. of *i*-stems (e.g. *omnis* but *homines*).

      ,,    for *e*: *beneficium*.

O       ,,    for *e*: *uorto* (compounds and derivatives: e.g. *aduorsus, uniuorsus, uorsor*), *uoster*.

      ,,    for *u*: regularly after *u* (e.g. *nouos, uolnus*, etc.).

P       ,,    for *b*: *op-* for *ob-* (e.g. *optineo*).

U       ,,    for *e*: in gerunds and gerundives.

      ,,    for *i*: in *-umus, -ume* of superlatives; *aestumo, finitumus; lubet* (compounds and derivatives).

C. SALLUSTI CRISPI  
DE BELLO IUGURTHINO  
LIBER.

Falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod 1  
inbecilla atque aevi brevis forte potius quam uirtute regatur.  
nam contra reputando neque maius aliud neque praesta- 2  
bilis inuenias, magisque naturae industriam hominum quam  
uim aut tempus deesse. sed dux atque imperator uitae mor- 3  
talium animus est: qui ubi ad gloriam uirtutis uia grassatur,  
abunde pollens potensque et clarus est, neque fortuna eget,  
quippe probitatem, industriam aliasque artis bonas neque  
dare neque eripere cuiquam potest. sin captus prauis cupi- 4  
dinibus ad inertiam et uoluptates corporis pessum datus est  
perniciosa lubidine paulisper usus, ubi per socordiam uires  
tempus ingenium diffluxere, naturae infirmitas accusatur:  
suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. quod 5  
si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio  
aliena ac nihil profutura multumque etiam periculosa petunt,  
neque regerentur magis quam regerent casus et eo magni-  
tudinis procederent, ubi pro mortalibus gloria aeterni fierent.  
nam uti genus hominum compositum ex corpore et anima 2  
est, ita res cunctae studiaque omnia nostra corporis alia, alia  
animi naturam secuntur. igitur praeclara facies, magnae 2



diuitiae, ad hoc uis corporis et alia omnia huiusmodi breui dilabuntur, at ingeni egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia  
3 sunt. postremo corporis et fortunae bonorum ut initium sic finis est, omniaque orta occidunt et aucta senescunt: animus incorruptus, aeternus, rector humani generis, agit  
4 atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. quo magis prauitas eorum admiranda est, qui dediti corporis gaudiis per luxum et ignauiam aetatem agunt, ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, incultu atque socordia torpescere sinunt, cum praesertim tam multae uariaeque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

3 Verum ex eis magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum minime mihi hac tempestate cupiunda uidentur, quoniam neque uirtuti honos datur, neque illi,  
2 quibus per fraudem fuit, tuti aut eo magis honesti sunt. nam ui quidem regere patriam aut parentes, quamquam et possis et delicta corrigas, tamen inopportuno est, cum praesertim omnes rerum mutationes caedem fugam aliaque hostilia portendant. frustra autem niti neque aliud se fatigando nisi  
3 odium quaerere extremae dementiae est. nisi forte quem inhonesta et perniciose libido tenet potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

4 Ceterum ex aliis negotiis, quae ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum. cuius de uirtute quia multi dixere, praetereundum puto, simul ne per insolentiam quis existimet memet studium meum laudando  
3 extollere. atque ego credo fore qui, quia decreui procul a re publica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae inponant, certe quibus maxuma industria uideatur  
4 salutare plebem et conuiuiis gratiam quaerere. qui si reputauerint, et quibus ego temporibus magistratus adeptus sim et quales uiri idem adsequi nequiverint, et postea quae genera hominum in senatum peruenerint, profecto existimabunt me

magis merito quam ignauia iudicium animi mei mutauisse, maiusque commodum ex otio meo quam ex aliorum negotiis rei publicae uenturum. nam saepe ego audiui Q. Maxu- 5 mum, P. Scipionem, praeterea ciuitatis nostrae praeclaros uiros solitos ita dicere: cum maiorum imagines intuerentur, uehementissime sibi animum ad uirtutem accendi. scilicet 6 non ceram illam neque figuram tantam uim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis uiris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam uirtus eorum famam atque gloriam adaequauerit. at contra quis est 7 omnium his moribus, quin diuitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria cum maioribus suis contendat? etiam homines noui, qui antea per uirtutem soliti erant nobilitatem anteuenire, furtim et per latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus ad imperia et honores nituntur: proinde quasi praetura et 8 consulatus atque alia omnia huiusmodi per se ipsa clara et magnifica sint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum qui ea sustinent uirtus est. uerum ego liberius altiusque processi, 9 dum me ciuitatis morum piget taedetque. nunc ad inceptum redeo.

Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum 5 Iugurtha rege Numidarum gessit, primum quia magnum et atrox uariaque uictoria fuit, dehinc quia tunc primum superbiae nobilitatis obuiam itum est. quae contentio diuina et 2 humana cuncta permiscuit, eoque uecordiae processit, ut studiis ciuilibus bellum atque uastitas Italiae finem faceret. sed priusquam huiusmodi rei initium expedio, pauca 3 supra repetam, quo ad cognoscendum omnia inlustria magis magisque in aperto sint.

Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium 4 Hannibal post magnitudinem nominis Romani Italiae opes maxime adtriuerat, Masinissa rex Numidarum in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex

uirtute fuit, multa et praeclara rei militaris facinora fecerat. ob quae, uictis Carthaginiensibus et capto Syphace, cuius in Africa magnum atque late imperium ualuit, populus Romanus quascumque urbis et agros manu ceperat regi  
5 dono dedit. igitur amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis permansit. sed imperi uitaeque eius finis idem fuit.  
6 dein Micipsa filius regnum solus optinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa fratribus morbo absumptis. is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit, Iugurthamque filium Mastanabalis fratris, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, priuatim dereliquerat, eodem cultu quo liberos suos domi habuit.

6 Qui ubi primum adoleuit, pollens uiribus, decora facie, sed multo maxime ingenio ualidus, non se luxu neque inertiae conrumpendum dedit, sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, iaculare, cursu cum aequalibus certare, et cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque tempora in uenando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferire, plurimum facere, minimum  
2 ipse de se loqui. quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existumans uirtutem Iugurthae regno suo gloriae fore, tamen postquam hominem adulescentem exacta sua aetate et paruis liberis magis magisque crescere intellegit, uehementer eo negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo uolebat.  
3 terrebat eum natura mortalium auida imperi et praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem, praeterea opportunitas suae liberorumque aetatis, quae etiam mediocris uiros spe praedae transuersos agit, ad hoc studia Numidarum in Iugurtham accensa, ex quibus, si talem uirum dolis interfecisset, ne qua  
7 seditio aut bellum oriretur anxius erat. his difficultatibus circumuentus ubi uidet neque per uim neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus, quod erat Iugurtha manu promptus et adpetens gloriae militaris, statuit eum

objectare periculis et eo modo fortunam temptare. igitur 2  
bello Numantino Micipsa cum populo Romano equitum atque  
peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans uel ostentando uirtutem uel  
hostium saeuitia facile eum occasurum, praefecit Numidis,  
quos in Hispaniam mittebat. sed ea res longe aliter ac ratus 3  
erat euenit. nam Iugurtha, ut erat inpigro atque acri ingenio, 4  
ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator erat,  
et morem hostium cognouit, multo labore multaque cura,  
praeterea modestissime parendo et saepe obuiam eundo  
periculis in tantam claritudinem breui peruenerat, ut nostris  
uehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori esset. ac sane, 5  
quod difficillimum in primis est, et proelio strenuus erat  
et bonus consilio, quorum alterum ex prouidentia timorem,  
alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet.  
igitur imperator omnis fere res asperas per Iugurtham agere, 6  
in amicis habere, magis magisque eum in dies amplecti,  
quippe cuius neque consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra  
erat. huc adcedebat munificentia animi et ingeni sollertia, 7  
quis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia con-  
iunxerat.

Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere conplures noui 8  
atque nobiles, quibus diuitiae bono honestoque potiores  
erant, factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari magis quam  
honesti, qui Iugurthae non mediocrem animum pollicitando  
accendebant, si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore uti solus imperi  
Numidiae potiretur: in ipso maxumam uirtutem, Romae  
omnia uenalia esse. sed postquam, Numantia deleta, P. 2  
Scipio dimittere auxilia et ipse reuerti domum decreuit,  
donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro contione Iugurtham  
in praetorium abduxit ibique secreto monuit, ut potius  
publice quam priuatim amicitiam populi Romani coleret  
neu quibus largiri insuesceret: periculose a paucis emi, quod  
multorum esset. si permanere uellet in suis artibus, ultro

- illi et gloriam et regnum uenturum; sin properantius pergeret,  
 9 suamet ipsum pecunia praecipitem casurum. sic locutus  
 cum litteris eum, quas Micipsae redderet, dimisit. earum  
 2 sententia haec erat. 'Iugurthae tui bello Numantino longe  
 maxuma uirtus fuit, quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse.  
 nobis ob merita sua carus est: ut idem senatui et populo  
 Romano sit, summa ope nitetur. tibi quidem pro nostra  
 amicitia gratulor. en habes uirum dignum te atque auo  
 3 suo Masinissa.' igitur rex ubi ea, quae fama acceperat, ex  
 litteris imperatoris ita esse cognouit, cum uirtute tum gratia  
 uiri permotus flexit animum suum et Iugurtham beneficiis  
 uincere aggressus est, statimque eum adoptauit et testamento  
 4 pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. sed ipse paucos post  
 annos, morbo atque aetate confectus, cum sibi finem uitae  
 adesse intellexeret, coram amicis et cognatis itemque Adher-  
 bale et Hiempsale filiis dicitur huiuscemodi uerba cum  
 Iugurtha habuisse.
- 10 'Paruom ego, Iugurtha, te amisso patre sine spe, sine  
 opibus in regnum meum accepi, existumans non minus me  
 tibi, quam liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore.  
 2 neque ea res falsum me habuit. nam, ut alia magna et  
 egregia tua omittam, nouissime rediens Numantia meque  
 regnumque meum gloria onerauisti, tuaque uirtute nobis  
 Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti: in Hispania nomen  
 familiae renovatum est. postremo, quod difficillimum inter  
 3 mortalis est, gloria inuidiam uicisti. nunc, quoniam mihi  
 natura finem uitae facit, per hanc dexteram, per regni fidem  
 moneo obtestorque te, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui,  
 beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas, neu malis alienos  
 4 adiungere quam sanguine coniunctos retinere. non exercitus  
 neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, uerum amici, quos  
 neque armis cogere neque auro parare queas: officio et fide  
 5 pariuntur. quis autem amior quam frater fratri, aut quem

alienum fidum inuenies, si tuis hostis fueris? equidem ego 6  
uobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis, sin mali, inbe-  
cillum. nam concordia paruae res crescunt, discordia maxu-  
mae dilabuntur. ceterum ante hos te, Iugurtha, qui aetate 7  
et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eueniat prouidere decet.  
nam in omni certamine qui opulentior est, etiam si accipit  
iniuriam, tamen, quia plus potest, facere uidetur. uos 8  
autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, obseruate talem hunc  
uirum, imitamini uirtutem et enitimini, ne ego meliores  
liberos sumpsisse uidear quam genuisse.'

Ad ea Iugurtha, tametsi regem ficta locutum intellegebat 11  
et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore  
benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. 2  
postquam illi more regio iusta magnifice fecerant, reguli in  
unum conuenerunt, ut inter se de cunctis negotiis discep-  
tarent. sed Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis erat, natura ferox 3  
et iam antea ignobilitatem Iugurthae, quia materno genere  
inpar erat, despiciens, dextra Adherbalem adsedit, ne medius  
ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Iugurtha  
foret. dein tamen ut aetati concederet fatigatus a fratre, 4  
uix in partem alteram transductus est. ibi cum multa de 5  
administrando imperio dissererent, Iugurtha inter alias res  
iacit, oportere quinquenni consulta et decreta omnia re-  
scindi: nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipsam  
parum animo ualuisse. tum idem Hiempsal placere sibi 6  
respondit: nam ipsum illum tribus proxumis annis adopta-  
tione in regnum peruenisse. quod uerbum in pectus Iugur- 7  
thae altius quam quisquam ratus erat descendit. itaque ex 8  
eo tempore ira et metu anxius moliri, parare, atque ea  
modo cum animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum  
caperetur. quae ubi tardius procedunt neque lenitur ani- 9  
mus ferox, statuit quouis modo inceptum perficere.

Primo conuentu, quem ab regulis factum supra memorauimus, 12

propter dissensionem placuerat diuidi thesauros finisque  
2 imperi singulis constitui. itaque tempus ad utramque rem  
decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. reguli  
interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius alio concessere.  
3 sed Hiempsal in oppido Thirmida forte eius domo utebatur,  
qui proximus lictor Iugurthae carus acceptusque ei semper  
fuerat. quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat  
inpellitque uti tamquam sua uisens domum eat, portarum  
clauis adulterinas paret (nam uerae ad Hiempsalem refere-  
bantur): ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna  
4 manu uenturum. Numida mandata breui conficit, atque,  
5 uti doctus erat, noctu Iugurthae milites introducit. qui  
postquam in aedis inrupere, diuorsi regem quaerere, dor-  
mientis alios, alios occursantis interficere, scrutari loca  
abditā, clausa effringere, strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere:  
cum interim Hiempsal reperitur occultans se tugurio muli-  
eris ancillae, quo initio pauidus et ignarus loci perfugerat.  
6 Numidae caput eius, uti iussi erant, ad Iugurtham referunt.  
13 Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam breui  
diuolgatur. Adherbalem omnisque, qui sub imperio Micip-  
sae fuerant, metus inuadit. in duas partis discedunt Numi-  
dae: plures Adherbalem secuntur, sed illum alterum bello  
2 meliores. igitur Iugurtha quam maximas potest copias  
armat, urbis partim ui, alias uoluntate imperio suo adiungit,  
3 omni Numidiae imperare parat. Adherbal, tametsi Romam  
legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de caede fratris et  
fortunis suis, tamen fretus multitudine militum parabat armis  
4 contendere. sed ubi res ad certamen uenit, uictus ex proelio  
5 profugit in prouinciam ac deinde Romam contendit. tum  
Iugurtha patris consiliis, postquam omnis Numidiae potie-  
batur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere  
populum Romanum neque aduersus iram eius usquam nisi  
6 in auaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua spem habere. itaque

paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam legatos mittit, quis praecipit, primum uti ueteres amicos muneribus expleant, deinde nouos adquirant, postremo quaecumque possint largiundo parare ne cunctentur. sed ubi Romam 7 legati uenere et ex praecepto regis hospitibus aliisque, quorum ea tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere, tanta conmutatio incessit, ut ex maxuma inuidia in gratiam et fauorem nobilitatis Iugurtha ueniret. quorum pars spe, alii praemio inducti singulos ex senatu 8 ambiundo nitebantur, ne grauius in eum consuleretur. igitur ubi legati satis confidunt, die constituto senatus 9 utrisque datur. tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

‘Patres conscripti, Micipsa pater meus moriens mihi 14 praecepit, ut regni Numidiae tantum modo procurationem existumarem meam, ceterum ius et imperium eius penes uos esse; simul eniterer domi militiaeque quam maximo usui esse populo Romano; uos mihi cognatorum, uos in adfinium locum ducerem: si ea fecissem, in uostra amicitia exercitum, diuitias, munimenta regni me habiturum. quae cum prae- 2 cepta parentis mei agitarem, Iugurtha, homo omnium quos terra sustinet sceleratissimus, contempto imperio uostro Masinissae me nepotem et iam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi Romani regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. atque ego, patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum uentu- 3 rus eram, uellem potius ob mea quam ob maiorum meorum beneficia possem a uobis auxilium petere, ac maxime deberi mihi beneficia a populo Romano quibus non egerem, secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. sed 4 quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est, neque mihi in manu fuit Iugurtha qualis foret, ad uos confugi, patres conscripti, quibus, quod mihi miserrimum est, cogor prius oneri quam usui esse. ceteri reges aut bello uicti in 5



amicitiam a uobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem uostram adpetiuerunt. familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginensi amicitiam instituit, quo tempore magis fides eius quam fortuna petunda erat. 6 quorum progeniem uos, patres conscripti, nolite pati me 7 nepotem Masinissae frustra a uobis auxilium petere. si ad impetrandum nihil causae haberem praeter miserandam fortunam, quod paulo ante rex genere, fama atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus aerumnis, inops, alienas opes expecto, tamen erat maiestatis populi Romani prohibere iniuriam neque pati cuiusquam regnum per scelus crescere. 8 uerum ego eis finibus eiectus sum, quos maioribus meis populus Romanus dedit, unde pater et auos meus una uobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginensis. uostra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, patres conscripti, uos in mea 9 iniuria despecti estis. eheu me miserum! hucine, Micipsa pater, beneficia tua euasere ut, quem tu parem cum liberis tuis regnique participem fecisti, is potissimum stirpis tuae extinator sit? numquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? 10 semperne in sanguine ferro fuga uorsabitur? dum Carthaginenses incolumes fuere, iure omnia saeua patiebamur: hostes ab latere, uos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. postquam illa pestis ex Africa eiecta est, laeti pacem agitabamus, quippe quis hostis nullus erat, nisi 11 forte quem uos iussissetis. ecce autem ex inprouiso Iugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia sese efferens, fratre meo atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto, primum regnum eius sceleris sui praedam fecit, post, ubi me eisdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus quam uim aut bellum expectantem in imperio uostro, sicut uidetis, extorrem patria, domo, inopem et coopertum miseriis 12 effecit, ut ubiuis tutius quam in meo regno essem. ego sic existumabam, patres conscripti, uti praedicantem

audiueram patrem meum : qui uostram amicitiam diligenter  
colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, ceterum ex omni-  
bus maxime tutos esse. quod in familia nostra fuit, prae- 13  
stitit, uti in omnibus bellis adesset uobis : nos uti per otium  
tuti simus, in uoſtra manu est, patres conscripti. pater 14  
nos duos fratres reliquit, tertium Iugurtham beneficiis suis  
ratus est coniunctum nobis fore. alter eorum necatus  
est, alterius ipse ego manus inſpicias uix effugi. quid agam? 15  
aut quo potissimum infelix adcedam? generis praesidia  
omnia extincta sunt. pater, uti necesse erat, naturae con-  
cessit. fratri, quem minime decuit, propincus per scelus  
uitam eripuit. adfinis, amicos, propinquos ceteros meos  
alium alia clades obpressit: capti ab Iugurtha pars in  
crucem acti, pars bestiis obiecti sunt, pauci, quibus relicta  
est anima, clausi in tenebris cum maerore et luctu morte  
grauiore uitam exigunt. si omnia, quae aut amiſi aut ex 16  
necessariis aduorsa facta sunt, incolumbia manerent, tamen,  
si quid ex inſprouiso mali accidisset, uos inplorarem, patres  
conscripti, quibus pro magnitudine imperi ius et iniurias  
omnis curae esse decet. nunc uero exul patria, domo, 17  
solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens, quo accedam  
aut quos adpellem? nationesne an reges? qui omnes familiae  
noſtrae ob uoſtram amicitiam infesti sunt. an quoquam  
mihi adire licet, ubi non maiorum meorum hostilia monu-  
menta plurima sint? aut quisquam noſtri misereri potest,  
qui aliquando uobis hostis fuit? postremo Masinissa nos 18  
ita instituit, patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus nisi  
populum Romanum, ne societates neu foedera noua acci-  
peremus: abunde magna praesidia nobis in uoſtra amicitia  
fore; si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una occidendum  
nobis esse. uirtute ac diſ uolentibus magni estis et opu- 19  
lenti, omnia secunda et oboedientia sunt: quo facilius  
sociorum iniurias curare licet. tantum illud uereor, ne 20

- quos priuata amicitia Iugurthae parum cognita transuorsos agat, quos ego audio maxuma ope niti, ambire, fatigare uos singulos, ne quid de absente incognita causa statuatis: fingere me uerba et fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno
- 21 manere. quod utinam illum, cuius inpio facinore in has miserias proiectus sum, eadem haec simulantem uideam, et aliquando aut apud uos aut apud deos immortalis rerum humanarum cura oriatur: ne ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatu
- 22 miseriorum grauis poenas reddat. iam iam frater, animo meo carissime, quamquam tibi inmaturo et unde minime decuit uita erepta est, tamen laetandum magis quam dolen-
- 23 dum puto casum tuum. non enim regnum sed fugam, exilium, egestatem et omnis has quae me premunt aerumnas cum anima simul amisisti. at ego infelix, in tanta mala praecipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum praebeo, incertus quid agam, tuasne iniurias persequar ipse auxili egens an regno consulam, cuius uitae
- 24 necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, neu iure contemptus uiderer, si defessus malis iniuriae concessissem. nunc
- 25 neque uiuere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. patres conscripti, per uos, per liberos atque parentes uostros, per maiestatem populi Romani, subuenite mihi misero, ite obuiam iniuriae, nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod uostrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiae nostrae tabescere.'
- 15 Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit. legati Iugurthae largitione magis quam causa freti paucis respondent: Hiempsalem ob saeuitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum, Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri quod iniuriam facere nequiuisset; Iugurtham ab

senatu petere, ne se alium putarent ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu uerba inimici ante facta sua ponerent. deinde 2 utrique curia egrediuntur. senatus statim consulitur. fautores legatorum, praeterea senatus magna pars gratia deprauata Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Iugurthae uirtutem extollere laudibus: gratia, uoce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio sua quasi pro gloria nitebantur. at contra pauci, quibus bonum et aequom diuitiis carius 3 erat, subueniendum Adherbali et Hiempsalis mortem seuerè uindicandam censebant, sed ex omnibus maxime Aemilius 4 Scaurus, homo nobilis, inpiger, factiosus, audax potentiae, honoris, diuitiarum, ceterum uitia sua callide occultans. is postquam uidet regis largitionem famosam inpudentem- 5 que, ueritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia inuidiam adcenteret, animum a consueta lubidine continuit. uicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quae uerò pretium aut 16 gratiam anteferebat. decretum fit uti decem legati regnum, 2 quod Micipsa optinuerat, inter Iugurtham et Adherbalem diuiderent. cuius legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens, quia consul C. Graccho et M. Fuluius Flacco interfectis acerrime uictoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. eum Iugurtha tametsi Romae in 3 inimicis habuerat, tamen adcuratissime recepit, dando et pollicendo multa perfecit, uti fama, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferret. reliquos legatos 4 eadem uia aggressus plerosque capit: paucis carior fides quam pecunia fuit. in diuisione, quae pars Numidiae 5 Mauretaniam attingit, agro uirisque opulentior, Iugurthae traditur, illam alteram specie quam usu potiore, quae portuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

Res postulare uidetur Africae situm paucis exponere 17 et eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit,

2 attingere. sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem aut  
asperitatem, item solitudines minus frequentata sunt, de  
eis haud facile compertum narrauerim. cetera quam pau-  
cissumis absoluam.

3 In diuisione orbis terrae plerique in parte tertia  
Africam posuere, pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam  
4 esse, sed Africam in Europa. ea finis habet ab occidente  
fretum nostri maris et Oceani, ab ortu solis decliuem lati-  
5 tudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolae appellant. mare  
saeuom, inportuosum; ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori,  
6 arbore infecundus; caelo terraque penuria aquarum. genus  
hominum salubri corpore, uelox, patiens laborum. pleros-  
que senectus dissoluit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere:  
nam morbus haud saepe quemquam superat. ad hoc  
7 malifici generis plurima animalia. sed qui mortales initio  
Africam habuerint, quique postea adcesserint, aut quo  
modo inter se permixti sint, quamquam ab ea fama, quae  
plerosque optinet, diuorsum est, tamen uti ex libris Punicis,  
qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est,  
utique rem sese habere cultores eius terrae putant, quam  
paucissumis dicam. ceterum fides eius rei penes auctores  
erit.

18 Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyes, asperi incul-  
tique, quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum uti  
2 pecoribus. ei neque moribus neque lege aut imperio cuius-  
quam regebantur: uagi, palantes quas nox coegerat sedes  
3 habebant. sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti Afri  
putant, interiit, exercitus eius conpositus ex uariis gentibus,  
amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium peten-  
4 tibus, breui dilabatur. ex eo numero Medi, Persae et  
Armenii, nauibus in Africam transuecti, proximos nostro  
5 mari locos occupauere, sed Persae intra Oceanum magis,  
eique alueos nauium inuorsos pro tuguriis habuere, quia

neque materia in agris neque ab Hispanis emundi aut mutandi copia erat: mare magnum et ignara lingua commercio prohibebant. ei paulatim per conubia Gaetulos secum miscuere et, quia saepe temptantes agros alia, deinde alia loca petiuerant, semet ipsi Nomadas adpellauere. ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi uocant, oblonga incuruis lateribus tecta quasi nauium carinae sunt. Medis autem et Armeniis adcessere Libyes (nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant, Gaetuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus), eique mature oppida habuere: nam freto diuisi ab Hispania mutare res inter se instituerant. nomen eorum paulatim Libyes conrumpere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis adpellantes. sed res Persarum breui adoleuit ac postea nomine Numidae propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi possedere ea loca, quae proxuma Carthagine Numidia appellatur. deinde utrique alteris freti finitimos armis aut metu sub imperium suum coegere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere, magis ei, qui ad nostrum mare processerant, quia Libyes quam Gaetuli minus bellicosi. denique Africae pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est: uicti omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere. postea Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuendae gratia, pars imperi cupidine, sollicitata plebe et aliis nouarum rerum audis, Hipponem, Hadrumentum, Leptim, aliasque urbis in ora marituma condidere, eaeque breui multum auctae pars originibus suis praesidio, aliae decori fuere. nam de Carthagine silere melius puto quam parum dicere, quoniam alio properare tempus monet.

Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa diuidit, secundo mari prima Cyrene est, colonia Theraeon, ac deinceps duae Syrtes interque eas Leptis, deinde Philaenon arae, quem locum Aegyptum uorsus finem imperi

4 habuere Carthaginienses, post aliae Punicae urbes. cetera  
 loca usque ad Mauretanium Numidae tenent, proximi  
 5 Hispania Mauri sunt. super Numidiam Gaetulos accepi-  
 mus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius uagos agitare; post  
 eos Aethiopas esse, dehinc loca exusta solis ardoribus.  
 7 igitur bello Iugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida et finis  
 Carthaginiensium, quos nouissime habuerant, populus Ro-  
 manus per magistratus administrabat, Gaetulorum magna  
 pars et Numidae usque ad flumen Muluccham sub Iugurtha  
 erant, Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, praeter  
 nomen cetera ignarus populi Romani, itemque nobis neque  
 8 bello neque pace antea cognitus. de Africa et eius incolis  
 ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

20 Postquam diuiso regno legati Africa decessere, et  
 Iugurtha contra timorem animi praemia sceleris adeptum  
 sese uidet, certum esse ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numan-  
 tiam acceperat, omnia Romae uenalia esse, simul et illorum  
 pollicitationibus accensus, quos paulo ante muneribus ex-  
 2 pleuerat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. ipse acer,  
 bellicosus, at is quem petebat quietus, inbellis, placido  
 ingenio, opportunus iniuriae, metuens magis quam metu-  
 3 endus. igitur ex inproviso finis eius cum magna manu  
 inuadit, multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia praeda capit,  
 aedificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu  
 4 adcedit, deinde cum omni multitudine in regnum suum  
 conuortit, existumans Adherbalem dolore permotum iniurias  
 suas manu uindicaturum, eamque rem belli causam fore.  
 5 at ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat, et amicitia  
 populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad  
 Iugurtham de iniuriis questum misit. qui tametsi contu-  
 meliosa dicta rettulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decreuit  
 quam bellum sumere, quia temptatum antea secus cesserat.  
 6 neque eo magis cupido Iugurthae minuebatur, quippe qui

totum eius regnum animo iam inuaserat. itaque non uti 7  
antea cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato  
bellum gerere coepit et aperte totius Numidiae imperium  
petere. ceterum qua pergebat urbis, agros uastare, praedas 8  
agere: suis animum, hostibus terrorem augere. Adherbal 21  
ubi intellegit eo processum, uti regnum aut relincundum  
esset aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat et  
Iugurthae obuius procedit. interim haud longe a mari 2  
prope Cirtam oppidum utriusque exercitus consedit, et, quia  
diei extremum erat, proelium non inceptum. sed ubi  
plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine  
milites Iugurthini signo dato castra hostium inuadunt,  
semisomnos partim, alios arma sumentis fugant funduntque.  
Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et, ni  
multitudo togatorum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentis  
moenibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque  
patratum bellum foret. igitur Iugurtha oppidum circum- 3  
sedit, uineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum  
expugnare aggreditur, maxime festinans tempus legatorum  
antecapere, quos ante proelium factum ab Adherbale  
Romam missos audiuerat.

Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres 4  
adulescentes in Africam legantur, qui ambos reges adeant,  
senatus populiue Romani uerbis nuntient uelle et censere  
eos ab armis discedere, *de controuersiis suis iure potius quam*  
*bello disceptare*: ita seque illisque dignum esse. legati in 22  
Africam maturantes ueniunt, eo magis quod Romae, dum  
proficisci parant, de proelio facto et oppugnatione Cirtae  
audiebatur; sed is rumor clemens erat. quorum Iugurtha 2  
accepta oratione respondit sibi neque maius quicquam  
neque carius auctoritate senatus esse: ab adulescentia ita  
se enisum ut ab optumo quoque probaretur: uirtute, non  
malitia P. Scipioni summo uiro placuisse: ob easdem artis



a Micipsa, non penuria liberorum in regnum adoptatum  
3 esse. ceterum quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo  
4 animum suum iniuriam minus tolerare. Adherbalem dolis  
uitae suae insidiatum; quod ubi conperisset, sceleri eius  
obuiam isse. populum Romanum neque recte neque pro  
bono facturum, si ab iure gentium sese prohibuerit. pos-  
tremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam breui missurum.  
5 ita utrique digrediuntur. Adherbalis adpellandi copia non  
23 fuit. Iugurtha ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque  
propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo  
atque fossa moenia circumdat, turris extruit easque prae-  
sidiis firmat, praeterea dies noctisque aut per uim aut dolis  
formidinem ostentare, suos hortando ad uirtutem adrigere,  
2 prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal ubi intellegit  
omnis suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum,  
auxili spem nullam, penuria rerum necessarium bellum  
trahi non posse, ex eis qui una Cirtam profugerant duos  
maxime impigros delegit. eos multa pollicendo ac miser-  
ando casum suum confirmat uti per hostium munitiones  
24 noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent. Nu-  
midiae paucis diebus iussa efficiunt. litterae Adherbalis  
in senatu recitatae, quarum sententia haec fuit.  
2 'Non mea culpa saepe ad uos oratum mitto, patres  
conscripti, sed uis Iugurthae subigit, quem tanta lubido  
extinguendi me inuasit, ut neque uos neque deos immortalis  
in animo habeat: sanguinem meum quam omnia malit.  
3 itaque quintum iam mensem socius et amicus populi  
Romani armis obsessus teneor, neque mihi Micipsae patris  
mei beneficia neque uostra decreta auxiliantur: ferro an  
4 fame acrius urgear incertus sum. plura de Iugurtha  
scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea (etiam antea expertus  
5 sum parum fidei miseris esse): nisi tamen intellego illum

supra quam ego sum petere, neque simul amicitiam uostram et regnum meum sperare. utrum grauius existimet, nemini occultum est. nam initio occidit Hiempsalem fratrem 6 meum, deinde patrio regno me expulit: quae sane fuerint nostrae iniuriae, nihil ad uos. uerum nunc uostrum regnum 7 armis tenet; me, quem uos imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet; legatorum uerba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant. quid est reliquom nisi uis uostra, quo 8 moueri possit? nam ego quidem uellem et haec quae scribo 9 et illa quae antea in senatu questus sum uana forent potius quam miseria mea fidem uerbis faceret. sed quoniam eo 10 natus sum, ut Iugurthae scelerum ostentus essem, non iam mortem neque aerumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. regno Numidiae, quod uostrum est, uti lubet consulite: me manibus inpiis eripite, per maiestatem imperi, per amicitiae fidem, si ulla apud uos memoria remanet aui mei Masinissae.

His litteris recitatis fuere, qui exercitum in Africam 25 mittendum censerent et quam primum Adherbali subueniendum: de Iugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam legatis non paruisset. sed ab eisdem illis regis fautoribus 2 summa ope enisum est ne tale decretum fieret. ita bonum 3 publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, priuata gratia deuictum. legantur tamen in Africam maiores natu nobiles, 4 amplis honoribus usi. in quis fuit M. Scaurus, de quo supra memorauimus, consularis et tum senatus princeps. ei, quod res in inuidia erat, simul et ab Numidis obsecrati, 5 triduo nauim ascendere. dein breui Uticam adpulsi litteras ad Iugurtham mittunt: quam ocissime ad prouinciam adcedat, seque ad eum ab senatu missos. ille ubi accepit 6 homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romae pollere audierat, contra inceptum suum uenisse, primo commotus metu atque lubidine diuersus agitabatur. timebat iram 7

senatus, ni paruisset legatis: porro animus cupidine caecus  
 8 ad inceptum scelus rapiebatur. uicit tamen in auido ingenio  
 9 prauom consilium. igitur exercitu circumdato summa ui  
 Cirtam inrumpere nititur, maxume sperans, diducta manu  
 hostium aut ui aut dolis sese casum uictoriae inventurum.  
 10 quod ubi secus procedit, neque quod intenderat efficere  
 potest, ut prius quam legatos conveniret Adherbalis poti-  
 retur, ne amplius morando Scaurum quem plurimum metu-  
 ebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in prouinciam uenit.  
 11 ac tametsi senati uerbis graues minae nuntiabantur, quod  
 ab oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione  
 26 consumpta legati frustra discessere. ea postquam Cirtae  
 audita sunt, Italici, quorum uirtute moenia defensabantur,  
 confisi deditione facta propter magnitudinem populi Romani  
 inuiolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent uti seque et oppidum  
 Iugurthae tradat, tantum ab eo uitam paciscatur: de ceteris  
 2 senatui curae fore. at ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide  
 Iugurthae rebatur, tamen quia penes eosdem, si aduor-  
 saretur, cogundi potestas erat, ita uti censuerant Italici  
 3 deditionem facit. Iugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruci-  
 atum necat, deinde omnis puberes Numidas atque negotia-  
 tores promiscue, uti quisque armatus obuius fuerat, interficit.  
 27 Quod postquam Romae cognitum est, et res in senatu  
 agitari coepta, idem illi ministri regis interpellando ac saepe  
 gratia, interdum iurgiis trahundo tempus atrocitatem facti  
 2 leniebant. ac ni C. Memmius tribunus plebis designatus,  
 uir acer et infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum  
 edocuisset id agi ut per paucos factiosos Iugurthae scelus  
 condonaretur, profecto omnis inuidia prolatandis consul-  
 tationibus dilapsa foret: tanta uis gratiae atque pecuniae  
 3 regis erat. sed ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum  
 timet, lege Sempronia prouinciae futuris consulibus Numidia  
 4 atque Italia decretae. consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica,

L. Bestia: Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obuenit. deinde exercitus qui in Africam portaretur scribitur, stipen- 5  
dium aliaque quae bello usui forent decernuntur. at 28  
Iugurtha, contra spem nuntio accepto, quippe cui Romae omnia uenum ire in animo haeserat, filium et cum eo duos familiaris ad senatum legatos mittit eisque, uti illis quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, praecipit omnis mortalis pecunia aggrediantur. qui postquam Romam aduentabant, 2  
senatus a Bestia consultus est placeretne legatos Iugurthae recipi moenibus, eique decreuere, nisi regnum ipsumque deditum uenissent, uti in diebus proxumis decem Italia decederent. consul Numidis ex senatus decreto nuntiar 3  
iubet: ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. interim 4  
Calpurnius parato exercitu legat sibi homines nobilis, factiosos, quorum auctoritate quae deliquisset munita fore sperabat. in quis fuit Scaurus, cuius de natura et habitu supra memorauimus. nam in consule nostro multae bonae- 5  
que artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnis auaritia praepediebat: patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis prouidens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula et insidias, sed legiones per Italiam Regium atque inde Siciliam, porro 6  
ex Sicilia in Africam transuectae. igitur Calpurnius initio, 7  
paratis commeatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est multosque mortalis et urbis aliquot pugnando cepit. sed ubi 29  
Iugurtha per legatos pecunia temptare bellicae quod administrabat asperitatem ostendere coepit, animus aeger auaritia facile conuorsus est. ceterum socius et administer 2  
omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus, qui tametsi a principio, plerisque ex factione eius corruptis, acerrime regem in pugna uenerat, tamen magnitudine pecuniae a bono honestoque in prauum abstractus est. sed Iugurtha primum 3  
tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existumans sese aliquid interim Romae pretio aut gratia effecturum. postea

uero quam participem negoti Scaurum accepit, in maxumam  
 spem adductus recuperandae pacis, statuit cum eis de  
 4 omnibus pactionibus praesens agere. ceterum interea fidei  
 causa mittitur a consule Sextius quaestor in oppidum  
 Iugurthae Vagam. cuius rei species erat acceptio frumenti,  
 quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperauerat, quoniam de-  
 5 ditionis mora indutiae agitabantur. igitur rex, uti consti-  
 tuerat, in castra uenit ac, pauca praesenti consilio locutus  
 de inuidia facti sui atque uti in deditionem acciperetur,  
 reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit. dein postero  
 die quasi per saturam sententiis exquisitis in deditionem  
 6 accipitur. sed uti pro consilio imperatum erat, elephanti  
 triginta, pecus atque equi multi cum paruo argenti pondere  
 7 quaestori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus  
 rogandos proficiscitur. in Numidia et exercitu nostro pax  
 agitabatur.

30 .Postquam res in Africa gestas, quoque modo actae  
 forent fama diuolgauit, Romae per omnis locos et con-  
 uentus de facto consulis agitari. apud plebem grauis  
 inuidia, patres solliciti erant: probarentne tantum flagitium  
 2 an decretum consulis subuorterent parum constabat. ac  
 maxime eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius  
 3 Bestiae ferebatur, a uero bonoque inpediebat. at C.  
 Memmius, cuius de libertate ingeni et odio potentiae  
 nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras  
 senatus contionibus populum ad uindicandum hortari,  
 monere ne rem publicam, ne libertatem suam desererent,  
 multa superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere:  
 prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum incendebat.  
 4 sed quoniam ea tempestate Romae Memmi facundia clara  
 pollensque fuit, decere existumaui unam ex tam multis  
 orationem eius perscribere, ac potissimum ea dicam, quae in  
 contione post reditum Bestiae huiuscemodi uerbis disseruit.

‘Multa me dehortantur a uobis, Quirites, ni studium rei 31  
publicae omnia superet: opes factionis, uostra patientia, ius  
nullum, ac maxime quod innocentiae plus periculi quam  
honoris est. nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis 2  
quindecim quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum, quam  
foede quamque inulti perierint uostri defensores, ut uobis  
animus ab ignauia atque socordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc 3  
quidem obnoxiis inimicis exurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis  
eos, quibus decet terrori esse. sed quamquam haec talia 4  
sunt, tamen obuiam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit.  
certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente meo tradita est, 5  
experiar. uerum id frustra an ob rem faciam, in uostra  
manu situm est, Quirites. neque ego uos hortor, quod 6  
saepe maiores uestri fecere, uti contra iniurias armati eatis.  
nihil ui, nihil secessionis opus est: necesse est suomet ipsi  
more praecipites eant. occiso Ti. Graccho, quem regnum 7  
parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quaestiones habitae  
sunt. post C. Gracchi et M. Fului caedem item uostri  
ordinis multi mortales in carcere necati sunt. utriusque  
cladis non lex, uerum libido eorum finem fecit. sed sane 8  
fuerit regni paratio plebi sua restituere. quidquid sine  
sanguine ciuium ulcisci nequitur, iure factum sit. superi- 9  
oribus annis taciti indignabamini aerarium expilari, reges et  
populos liberos paucis nobilibus uectigal pendere, penes  
eosdem et summam gloriam et maxumas diuitias esse.  
tamen haec talia facinora inpune suscepisse parum habuere.  
itaque postremo leges, maiestas uostra, diuina et humana  
omnia hostibus tradita sunt. neque eos, qui ea fecere, 10  
pudet aut paenitet, sed incedunt per ora uostra magnifici,  
sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes,  
proinde quasi ea honori, non praedae habeant. serui aere 11  
parati iniusta imperia dominorum non perferunt, uos,  
Quirites, in imperio nati, aequo animo seruitutem toleratis?

12 at qui sunt ei qui rem publicam occupauere? homines  
sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, inmani auaritia, nocentis-  
sumi et eidem superbissimi, quibus fides, decus, pietas,  
postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quaestui sunt.  
13 pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quaestiones  
iniustas, plerique caedem in uos fecisse pro munimento  
14 habent. ita quam quisque pessime fecit, tam maxime  
tutus est. metum ab scelere suo ad ignauiam uostram  
transtulere, quos omnis eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem  
15 metuere in unum coegit. sed haec inter bonos amicitia,  
16 inter malos factio est. quod si tam uos libertatis curam  
haberetis quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt, profecto  
neque res publica, sicuti nunc, uastaretur et beneficia uostra  
17 penes optimos, non audacissimos, forent. maiores uostri  
parandi iuris et maiestatis constituendae gratia bis per  
secessionem armati Auentinum occupauere: uos pro liber-  
tate, quam ab illis accepistis, nonne summa ope nitimini—  
atque eo uehementius, quo maius dedecus est parta amittere  
quam omnino non parauisse? dicet aliquis 'quid igitur  
18 censes?' uindicandum in eos qui hosti prodidere rem  
publicam, non manu neque ui, quod magis uos fecisse quam  
illis accidisse indignum est, uerum quaestionibus et indicio  
19 ipsius Iugurthae. qui si dediticius est, profecto iussis  
uostis oboediens erit: sin ea contemnit, scilicet existuma-  
bitis, qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex qua ad Iugurtham  
scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumae diuitiae,  
20 ad rem publicam damna atque dedecora peruenerint. nisi  
forte nondum etiam uos dominationis eorum satietas tenet,  
et illa quam haec tempora magis placent, cum regna  
prouinciae, leges iura iudicia, bella atque paces, postremo  
diuina et humana omnia penes paucos erant, uos autem,  
hoc est populus Romanus, inuicti ab hostibus, imperatores  
omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere. nam

seruitutem quidem quis uostrum recusare audebat? atque 21  
ego, tametsi uiro flagitiosissimum existumo inpune iniuriam  
accepisse, tamen uos hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere,  
quoniam ciues sunt, aequo animo paterer, ni misericordia in  
perniciem casura esset. nam et illis, quantum inportunitatis 22  
habent, parum est inpune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi  
licentia eripitur, et uobis aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum  
intellegitis aut seruiundum esse aut per manus libertatem  
retinendam. nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes 23  
est? dominari illi uolunt, uos liberi esse, facere illi iniurias,  
uos prohibere, postremo sociis nostris ueluti hostibus,  
hostibus pro sociis utuntur. potestne in tam diuorsis 24  
mentibus pax aut amicitia esse? qua re moneo hortorque 25  
uos ne tantum scelus inpunitum omittatis. non peculatus  
aerari factus est, neque per uim sociis ereptae pecuniae,  
quae, quamquam grauius sunt, tamen consuetudine iam pro  
nihil habentur. hosti acerrumo prodita senatus auctoritas,  
proditum imperium uostrum est, domi militiaeque res  
publica uenalis fuit. quae nisi quaesita erunt, nisi uindi- 26  
catum in noxios, quid erit relicum, nisi ut illis, qui ea  
fecere, oboedientes uiuamus? nam inpune quae lubet facere,  
id est regem esse. neque ego uos, Quirites, hortor, ut 27  
malitis ciuis uostros perperam quam recte fecisse, sed ne  
ignoscendo malis bonos perditum eat. ad hoc in re 28  
publica multo praestat benefici quam malifici inmemorem  
esse. bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi negligas, at  
malus improbior. ad hoc si iniuriae non sint, haud saepe 29  
auxili egeas.

Haec atque alia huiusmodi saepius dicendo Memmius 32  
populo persuadet uti L. Cassius, qui tum praetor erat, ad  
Iugurtham mitteretur, eumque interposita fide publica  
Romam duceret, quo facilius indicio regis Scauri et reli-  
quorum, quos pecuniae captae accersebat, delicta patefierent.



2 dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia relictī a  
Bestia exercitui praeerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui,  
3 plurima et flagitiosissima facinora fecere. fuere qui auro  
conrupti elephantos Iugurthae traderent, alii perfugas  
4 uendere, pars ex pacatis praedas agebant: tanta uis auaritiae  
5 in animos eorum ueluti tabes inuaserat. at Cassius praetor,  
perlata rogatione a C. Memmio ac perculsa omni nobilitate,  
ad Iugurtham proficiscitur, eique timido et ex conscientia  
diffidenti rebus suis persuadet, quoniam se populo Romano  
dedisset, ne uim quam misericordiam eius experiri mallet.  
priuatim praeterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non  
minoris quam publicam ducebat: talis ea tempestate fama  
33 de Cassio erat. igitur Iugurtha contra decus regium cultu  
2 quam maxume miserabili cum Cassio Romam uenit. ac  
tametsi in ipso magna uis animi erat, confirmatus ab  
omnibus, quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat  
quae supra diximus, C. Baebium tribunum plebis magna  
mercede parat, cuius inpudentia contra ius et iniurias omnis  
3 munitus foret. at C. Memmius aduocata contione, quam-  
quam regi infesta plebes erat et pars in uincula duci iubebat,  
pars, nisi socios sceleris sui aperiret, more maiorum de  
hoste supplicium sumi, dignitati quam irae magis consulens  
sedare motus et animos eorum mollire, postremo confirmare  
4 fidem publicam per sese inuiolatam fore. post, ubi silen-  
tium coepit, producto Iugurtha uerba facit: Romae Numi-  
diaeque facinora eius memorat, scelera in patrem fratresque  
ostendit: quibus iuuantibus quibusque ministris ea egerit  
quamquam intellegat populus Romanus, tamen uelle mani-  
festa magis ex illo habere; si uerum aperiat, in fide et  
clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam, sin  
reticeat, non sociis saluti fore, sed se suasque spes con-  
34 rupturum. deinde ubi Memmius dicendi finem fecit et  
Iugurtha respondere iussus est, C. Baebius tribunus plebis,

quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere iubet, ac tametsi multitudo, quae in contione aderat, uehementer accensa terrebat eum clamore, uoltu, saepe inpetu atque aliis omnibus quae ira fieri amat, uicit tamen inpudentia. ita populus ludibrio habitus ex contione 2 discedit, Iugurthae Bestiaeque et ceteris, quos illa quaestio exagitabat, animi augescunt.

Erat ea tempestate Romae Numida quidam nomine 35 Massiua, Gulussae filius, Masinissae nepos, qui, quia in dissensione regum Iugurthae aduersus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale interfecto profugus ex patria abierat. huic 2 Sp. Albinus, qui proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissae sit, Iugurthamque ob scelera inuidia cum metu urgeat, regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat. auidus 3 consul belli gerundi mouere quam senescere omnia malebat. ipsi prouincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia euenerat. 4 quae postquam Massiua agitare coepit, neque Iugurthae in amicis satis praesidi est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et timor inpediebat, Bomilcari proximo ac maxime fido sibi imperat, pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massiuae parat, ac maxime occulte, sin id parum procedat, quouis modo, Numidam interficiat. Bo- 5 milcar mature regis mandata exequitur et per homines talis negoti artifices itinera egressusque eius, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat. deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad caedem 6 parati erant, paulo inconsultius Massiuam aggreditur: illum obtruncat, sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus et in primis Albino consule, indicium profitetur. fit reus magis 7 ex aequo bonoque quam ex iure gentium Bomilcar, comes eius qui Romam fide publica uenerat. at Iugurtha manu- 8 festus tanti sceleris non prius omisit contra uerum niti,

quam animum aduortit supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam  
 9 inuidiam facti esse. igitur quamquam in priore actione ex  
 amicis quinquaginta uades dederat, regno magis quam  
 uadibus consulens clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit,  
 ueritus ne reliquos popularis metus inuaderet parendi sibi, si  
 de illo supplicium sumptum foret, et ipse paucis diebus  
 10 eodem profectus est, iussus a senatu Italia decedere. sed  
 postquam Roma egressus est, fertur saepe eo tacitus respi-  
 ciens postremo dixisse: 'urbem uenalem et mature peritu-  
 ram, si emptorem inuenerit!'

36 Interim Albinus renouato bello commeatum, stipendium,  
 aliaque, quae militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam  
 portare, ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod  
 tempus haud longe aberat, armis aut deditione aut quouis  
 2 modo bellum conficeret. at contra Iugurtha trahere omnia  
 et alias, deinde alias morae causas facere, polliceri dedi-  
 tionem ac deinde metum simulare, cedere instanti et paulo  
 post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo, modo pacis  
 3 mora consulem ludificare. ac fuere qui tum Albinum haud  
 ignarum consili regis existumarent, neque ex tanta pro-  
 perantia tam facile tractum bellum socordia magis quam  
 4 dolo crederent. sed postquam, dilapso tempore, comitorum  
 dies aduentabat, Albinus Aulo fratre in castris pro praetore  
 37 relictum Romam decessit. ea tempestate Romae seditionibus  
 2 tribuniciis atrociter res publica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et  
 L. Annius tribuni plebis resistentibus conlegis continuare  
 magistratum nitebantur, quae dissensio totius anni comitia  
 3 impediabat. ea mora in spem adductus Aulus (quem pro  
 praetore in castris relictum supra diximus) aut conficiendi  
 belli aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniae capiundae,  
 milites mense Ianuario ex hibernis in expeditionem euocat,  
 magnisque itineribus hieme aspera peruenit ad oppidum  
 4 Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. quod quamquam et saeuitia

temporis et, opportunitate loci neque capi neque obsideri poterat (nam circum murum situm in praerupti montis extremo planities limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat) tamen aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine caecus ob thesauros oppidi potiundi, uineas agere, aggerem iacere, aliaque quae incepto usui forent properare. at Iugurtha, cognita uanitate atque inperitia 38 legati, subdole eius augere amentiam, missitare supplicantis legatos, ipse quasi uitabundus per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, 2 uti relicto Suthule in abditas regiones sese ueluti cedentem insequeretur: ita delicta occultiora fore. interea per homines callidos diu noctuque exercitum temptabat, centuriones ducesque turmarum partim uti transfugerent conrumpere, alii signo dato locum uti desererent. quae postquam ex 4 sententia instruit, intempesta nocte de inproviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumuenit. milites Romani perculti tumultu insolito arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars 5 territos confirmare: trepidare omnibus locis. uis magna hostium, caelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum, periculum anceps: postremo fugere an manere tutius foret, in incerto erat. sed ex eo numero, quos paulo ante conruptos diximus, 6 cohors una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum et paucis gregariis militibus transiere ad regem, et centurio primi pili tertiae legionis per munitionem, quam uti defenderet acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit, eaque Numidae cuncti inrupere. nostri foeda fuga, plerique abiectis armis, 7 proximum collem occupauerunt. nox atque praeda castrorum hostis, quominus uictoria uterentur, remorata sunt. 8 deinde Iugurtha postero die cum Aulo in conloquio uerba 9 facit: tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame et ferro clausum teneret, tamen se memorem humanarum rerum, si secum foedus faceret, incolumis omnis sub iugum missurum;

- 10 praeterea uti diebus decem Numidia decederet. quae  
quamquam graua et flagiti plena erant, tamen quia mortis  
metu mutabantur, sicuti regi lubuerat pax conuenit.
- 39 Sed ubi ea Romae comperta sunt, metus atque maeror  
ciuitatem inuasere. pars dolere pro gloria imperi, pars  
insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati, Aulo omnes  
infesti, ac maxume qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant, quod  
armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiuerat.
- 2 ob ea consul Albinus, ex delicto fratris inuidiam ac deinde  
periculum timens, senatum de foedere consulebat, et tamen  
interim exercitui supplementum scribere, ab sociis et nomine  
Latino auxilia accersere, denique omnibus modis festinare.
- 3 senatus ita uti par fuerat decernit, suo atque populi iniussu
- 4 nullum potuisse foedus fieri. consul inpeditus a tribunis  
plebis, ne quas parauerat copias secum portaret, paucis  
diebus in Africam proficiscitur (nam omnis exercitus, uti  
conuenerat, Numidia deductus in prouincia hiemabat).
- 5 postquam eo uenit, quamquam persequi Iugurtham et  
mederi fraternae inuidiae animo ardebat, cognitis militibus,  
quos praeter fugam soluto imperio licentia atque lasciuia  
conruerat, ex copia rerum statuit sibi nihil agitandum.
- 40 interim Romae C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus plebis  
rogationem ad populum promulgat, uti quaereretur in eos,  
quorum consilio Iugurtha senati decreta neglegisset, quique  
ab eo in legationibus aut imperiis pecunias acceperant, qui  
elephantos quique perfugas tradidissent, item qui de pace
- 2 aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent. huic rogationi  
partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium inuidia pericula metu-  
entes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa  
et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per amicos ac  
maxume per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos
- 3 inpedimenta parabant. sed plebes incredibile memoratu  
est quam intenta fuerit quantaque ui rogationem iusserit,

magis odio nobilitatis cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura rei publicae: tanta lubido in partibus erat. igitur, ceteris 4 metu percussis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiae fuisse supra docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis et suorum fugam, trepida etiam tum ciuitate, cum ex Mamilia rogatione tres quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat uti ipse in eo numero crearetur. sed quaestio exercita aspere uiolenterque ex 5 rumore et lubidine plebis. ut saepe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

Ceterum mos partium popularium et factionum ac 41 deinde omnium malarum artium paucis ante annis Romae ortus est otio atque abundantia earum rerum, quae prima mortales ducunt. nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus 2 et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rem publicam tractabant, neque gloriae neque dominationis certamen inter ciuis erat: metus hostilis in bonis artibus ciuitatem retinebat. sed ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, 3 scilicet ea, quae res secundae amant, lasciuiam atque superbia incessere. ita quod in aduersis rebus optauerant otium, 4 postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbiusque fuit. namque 5 coepere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem uortere: sibi quisque ducere trahere rapere. ita omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt, res publica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata. ceterum nobilitas factione magis 6 pollebat, plebis uis soluta atque dispersa in multitudine minus poterat. paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur, 7 penes eosdem aerarium, prouinciae, magistratus, gloriae triumphique erant: populus militia atque inopia urgebatur, praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. interea 8 parentes aut parui liberi militum, uti quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. ita cum potentia auaritia sine 9 modo modestiaque inuadere, polluere et uastare omnia, nihil pensi neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa praecipitauit.

- 10 nam ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt qui ueram  
gloriam iniustae potentiae anteponerent, moueri ciuitas et  
42 dissensio ciuilis quasi permixtio terrae oriri coepit. nam  
postquam Ti. et C. Gracchus, quorum maiores Punico  
atque aliis bellis multum rei publicae addiderant, uindicare  
plebem in libertatem et paucorum scelera patefacere coepere,  
nobilitas noxia, atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen  
Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes socie-  
tatis a plebe dimouerat, Gracchorum actionibus obuiam  
ierat, et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem in-  
gradientem Gaium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumuirum  
coloniis deducundis, cum M. Fuluius Flacco ferro necauerat.
- 2 et sane Gracchis cupidine uictoriae haud satis moderatus  
3 animus fuit. sed bono uinci satius est quam malo more  
4 iniuriam uincere. igitur ea uictoria nobilitas ex lubricum  
sua usa multos mortalis ferro aut fuga extinxit, plusque in  
relicum sibi timoris quam potentiae addidit. quae res  
plerumque magnas ciuitatis pessum dedit, dum alteri alteros  
5 uincere quouis modo et uictos acerbius ulcisci uolunt. sed  
de studiis partium et omnis ciuitatis moribus si singillatim  
aut pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus quam res  
maturius me deserat. quam ob rem ad inceptum redeo.
- 43 Post Auli foedus exercitusque nostri foedam fugam  
Metellus et Silanus consules designati prouincias inter se  
partiuertant, Metelloque Numidia euenerat, acri uiro et  
quamquam aduerso populi partium, fama tamen aequabili  
2 et inuicta. is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia  
omnia sibi cum collega ratus, ad bellum quod gesturus erat  
3 animum intendit. igitur, diffidens ueteri exercitui, milites  
scribere, praesidia undique accersere, arma, tela, equos et  
cetera instrumenta militiae parare, ad hoc conmeatum  
affatim, denique omnia, quae in bello uario et multarum  
4 rerum egenti usui esse solent. ceterum ad ea patranda

senatus auctoritate, socii nomenque Latinum et reges ultro auxilia mittundo, postremo omnis ciuitas summo studio adnitebatur. itaque ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis 5 conpositisque in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe ciuium, cum propter artis bonas tum maxime quod aduersum diuitias inuictum animum gerebat, et auaritia magistratuum ante id tempus in Numidia nostrae opes contusae hostiumque auctae erant.

Sed ubi in Africam uenit, exercitus ei traditur a Sp. 44 Albino proconsule iners, inbellis, neque periculi neque laboris patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, praedator ex sociis et ipse praeda hostium, sine imperio et modestia habitus. ita imperatori nouo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis quam ex copia militum auxili aut spei bonae adcedebat. statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et aestiuorum 3 tempus comitiorum mora inminuerat, et expectatione euentus ciuium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum attingere quam maiorum disciplina milites laborare coegisset. nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade percussus, postquam 4 decreuerat non egredi prouincia, quantum temporis aestiuorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites statiuis castris habebat, nisi cum odos aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. sed *neque muniabantur*, neque more militari 5 uigiliae deducebantur: uti cuique lubebat ab signis aberat. lixae permixti cum militibus diu noctuque uagabantur et palantes agros uastare, uillas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes agere, eaque mutare cum mercatoribus uino aduecticio et aliis talibus, praeterea frumentum publice datum uendere, panem in dies mercari: postremo quaecumque dici aut fingi queunt ignauiae luxuriaequae 45 probra in illo exercitu cuncta fuere et alia amplius. sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus quam in rebus hostilibus magnum et sapientem uirum fuisse conperior: tanta



- temperantia inter ambitionem saeuitiamque moderatum.
- 2 namque edicto primum adiumenta ignauiae sustulisse, ne quisquam in castris panem aut quem alium coctum cibum uenderet, ne lixae exercitum sequerentur, ne miles gregarius in castris neuē in agmine seruū aut iumentum haberet; ceteris arte modum statuisset. praeterea transuorsis itineribus cotidie castra mouere, iuxta ac si hostes adessent uallo atque fossa munire, uigilias crebras ponere et eas ipse cum legatis circumire, item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quispiam ordine egrederetur, ut cum signis frequentes incederent, miles
- 3 cibum et arma portaret. ita prohibendo a delictis magis quam uindicando exercitum breui confirmauit.
- 46 Interea Iugurtha, ubi quae Metellus agebat ex nuntiis accepit, simul de innocentia eius certior Roma factus, diffidere suis rebus ac tum demum ueram deditionem facere
- 2 conatus est. igitur legatos ad consulem cum supplicii mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque uitam peterent, alia
- 3 omnia dederent populo Romano. sed Metello iam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum,
- 4 ingenio mobili, nouarum rerum audum esse. itaque legatos alium ab alio diuorsos aggreditur ac paulatim temptando, postquam opportunos sibi cognouit multa pollicendo persuadet, uti Iugurtham maxime uiuom, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent. ceterum palam quae ex
- 5 uoluntate forent regi nuntiari iubet. deinde ipse paucis diebus intento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit, ubi contra belli faciem tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris erant. ex oppidis et mapalibus praefecti regis obuui procedebant parati frumentum dare, conmeatum portare, postremo omnia quae imperarentur facere.
- 6 neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia,

illa deditionis signa ostentui credere et insidiis locum temptari. itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item 7 funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos erat, in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat, in utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortium dispertiuerat, ut cum eis permixti uelites, quocumque adcederent equitatus hostium, propulsarent. nam in Iugurtha tantus dolus tantaque peritia 8 locorum et militiae erat, ut absens an praesens, pacem an bellum gerens perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur. erat 47 haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum nomine Vaga, forum rerum uenalium totius regni maxime celebratum, ubi et incolere et mercari consueuerant Italici generis multi mortales. huc consul simul 2 temptandi gratia, si paterentur, et opportunitatis loci praesidium inposuit. praeterea imperauit frumentum et alia quae bello usui forent conportare, ratus, id quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et conmeatu iuuaturam exercitum et iam paratis rebus munimento fore. inter haec 3 negotia Iugurtha inpensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, praeter suam liberorumque uitam omnia Metello dedere. quos item uti priores consul inlectos ad 4 proditionem domum dimittebat, regi pacem quam postulabat neque abnuere neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum expectare.

Iugurtha, ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit ac se 48 suis artibus temptari animaduortit, quippe cui uerbis pax nuntiabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrimum erat, urbs maxuma alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium temptati, coactus rerum necessitudine statuit armis certare. igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem uictoriae adductus 2 ex opportunitate loci, quam maxumas potest copias omnium generum parat ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli

3 anteuenit. erat in ea parte Numidiae, quam Adherbal in  
diuisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine  
Muthul, a quo aberat mons ferme milia passuum uiginti  
tractu pari, uastus ab natura et humano cultu. sed ex eo  
medio quasi collis oriebatur in inensum pertingens, uesti-  
titus oleastro ac murtetis aliisque generibus arborum, quae  
4 humi arido atque harenoso gignuntur. media autem plani-  
ties deserta penuria aquae, praeter flumini propinqua loca:  
ea consita arbustis pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.  
49 igitur in eo colle, quem transuorso itinere porrectum  
docuimus, Iugurtha extenuata suorum acie consedit, ele-  
phantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit  
eumque edocet quae ageret. ipse propior montem cum  
2 omni equitatu et peditibus delectis suos conlocat. dein  
singulas turmas et manipulos circumiens monet atque  
obtestatur uti memores pristinae uirtutis et uictoriae sese  
regnumque suum ab Romanorum auaritia defendant: cum  
eis certamen fore, quos antea uictos sub iugum miserint;  
ducem illis, non animum mutatum; quae ab imperatore  
decuerint omnia suis prouisa, locum superiorem, ut pru-  
dentes cum inperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus aut rudes  
3 cum belli melioribus manum consererent: proinde parati  
intentique essent signo dato Romanos inuadere; illum diem  
aut omnis labores et uictorias confirmaturum aut maxu-  
4 marum aerumnarum initium fore. ad hoc uiritim, uti  
quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat,  
commonefacere benefici sui et eum ipsum aliis ostentare,  
postremo *pro* cuiusque ingenio pollicendo, minitando, ob-  
testando, alium alio modo excitare: cum interim Metellus,  
ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu con-  
5 spicatur. primo dubius quidnam insolita facies osten-  
deret (nam inter uirgulta equi Numidaeque consederant,  
neque plane occultati humilitate arborum et tamen incerti

quidnam esset, cum natura loci tum dolo ipsi atque signa  
militaria obscurati), dein breui cognitis insidiis paulisper  
agmen constituit. ibi conmutatis ordinibus in dextero 6  
latere, quod proximum hostis erat, triplicibus subsidiis  
aciem instruxit, inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios  
dispertit, equitatum omnes in cornibus locat, ac pauca pro  
tempore milites hortatus aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transuorsis  
principiis in planum deducit. sed ubi Numidas quietos 50  
neque colle degredi animaduortit, ueritus ex anni tempore  
et inopia aquae, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium  
legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum prae-  
misit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet, existumans  
hostis crebro impetu et transuorsis proeliis iter suum  
remoratorios et, quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et  
sitim militum temptaturos. deinde ipse pro re atque loco, 2  
sicuti monte descenderat, paulatim procedere, Marium post  
principia habere, ipse cum sinistrae alae equitibus esse, qui  
in agmine principes facti erant. at Iugurtha, ubi extremum 3  
agmen Metelli primos suos praetergressum uidet, praesidio  
quasi duum milium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus  
descenderat, ne forte cedentibus aduersariis receptui ac post  
munimento foret. dein repente signo dato hostis inuadit.  
Numidae alii postremos caedere, pars a sinistra ac dextra 4  
temptare, infensi adesse atque instare, omnibus locis Ro-  
manorum ordines conturbare, quorum etiam qui firmioribus  
animis obuuii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto proelio ipsi  
modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriundi aut  
conserundi manum copia erat: ante iam docti ab Iugurtha 5  
equites, ubi Romanorum turma insequi coeperat, non  
confertim neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio  
quam maxime diuorsi. ita numero priores, si ab perse- 6  
quando hostis detertere nequuerant, disiectos ab tergo aut  
lateribus circumueniebant; sin opportunior fugae collis

- quam campi fuerat, ea uero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter uirgulta euadere, nostros asperitas et insolentia loci
- 51 retinebat. ceterum facies totius negoti uaria, incerta, foeda atque miserabilis. dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi, neque signa neque ordines obseruare, ubi quemque periculum ceperat ibi resistere ac propulsare, arma, tela, equi, uiri, hostes atque ciues permixti, nihil consilio neque imperio
- 2 agi, fors omnia regere. itaque multum diei processerat, cum etiam tum euentus in incerto erat. denique omnibus labore et aestu languidis Metellus, ubi uidet Numidas minus instare, paulatim milites in unum conduit, ordines restituit et cohortis legionarias quattuor aduersum pedites hostium conlocat. eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa con-
- 4 sederat. simul orare et hortari milites, ne deficerent ne paterentur hostis fugientis uincere: neque illis castra esse neque munimentum ullum, quo cedentes tenderent: in
- 5 armis omnia sita. sed ne Iugurtha quidem interea quietus erat: circumire, hortari, renouare proelium et ipse cum delectis temptare omnia, subuenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognouerat eminus pugnando retinere.
- 52 eo modo inter se duo imperatores summi uiri certabant, ipsi
- 2 pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. nam Metello uirtus militum erat, locus aduersus, Iugurthae alia omnia praeter
- 3 milites opportuna. denique Romani, ubi intellegunt neque sibi perfugium esse neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri (et iam die uester erat) aduerso colle, sicuti praeceptum
- 4 fuerat, euadunt. amisso loco Numidae fusi fugatique. pauci interiere, plerosque uelocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt.
- 5 Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium praefectum ab Iugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius praetergressus est, paulatim suos in aequom locum deducit ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo praemissus erat,

festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat neque remittit quid ubique hostis ageret explorare. postquam Rutilium consedissem iam et animo uacuom accepit simulque ex Iugurthae proelio clamorem augeri, ueritus, ne legatus cognita re laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem quam diffidens uirtuti militum arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri officeret, latius porrigit eoque modo ad Rutili castra procedit. Romani ex inproviso pulueris uim magnam animaduortunt: nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. et primo rati humum aridam uento agitari, post ubi aequabilem manere et, sicuti acies mouebatur, magis magisque adpropinquare uident, cognita re prope- rantes arma capiunt ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. deinde, ubi propius uentum est, utrimque magno clamore concurritur. Numidae tantummodo re- morati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant, postquam eos inpeditos ramis arborum atque ita disiectos circumueniri uident, fugam faciunt ac plerique abiectis armis collis aut noctis, quae iam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. elephanti quattuor capti, reliqui omnes numero quadraginta interfecti. at Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et proelio fessi laetique erant, tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obuam procedunt. nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur. ac primo obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu uelut hostes aduentare, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul et tumultum facere, et paene imprudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque praemissi equites rem explorauissent. igitur pro metu repente gaudium mutatur, milites alius alium laeti appellant, acta edocent atque audiunt, sua quisque fortia facta ad caelum fert. quippe res humanae ita sese habent: in uictoria uel ignauis gloriari licet, aduersae res etiam bonos detrectant.

- 54 , Metellus in eisdem castris quadriduo moratus saucios cum cura reficit, meritos in proeliis more militiae donat, uniuersos in contione laudat atque agit gratias, hortatur ad cetera, quae leuia sint, parem animum gerant: pro uictoria  
2 satis iam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro praeda fore. *et* tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Iugurtha ubi gentium aut quid agitare, cum paucisne esset an exercitum  
3 haberet, ut sese uictus gereret exploratum misit. at ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat ibique coge-  
bat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem sed hebetem  
4 infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis quam belli cultorem. id ea gratia eueniebat, quod praeter regios equites nemo omnium Numida ex fuga regem sequitur: quo cuiusque animus fert, eo discedunt, neque id flagitium militiae ducitur: ita se mores habent.
- 5 Igitur Metellus, ubi uidet regis etiam tum animum ferocem esse, bellum renouari, quod nisi ex illius lubidine geri non posset, praeterea inicum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos uinci quam suos uincere, statuit non proeliis neque in acie, sed alio more bellum  
6 gerendum. itaque in loca Numidiae opulentissima pergit, agros uastat, multa castella et oppida temere munita aut sine praesidio capit incenditque, puberes interfici iubet, alia omnia militum praedam esse. ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides, frumentum et alia quae usui forent affatim praebita, ubicumque res postulabat  
7 praesidium inpositum. quae negotia multo magis quam  
8 proelium male pugnatum ab suis regem terrebant, quippe, cuius spes omnis in fuga sita erat, sequi cogeatur, et qui sua loca defendere nequiuerat, in alienis bellum gerere.  
9 tamen ex copia quod optimum uidebatur consilium capit: exercitum plerumque in eisdem locis opperiri iubet, ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et auis

itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantis repente aggreditur. eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur, nemo omnium intactus profugit, et Numidae, prius quam ex castris subueniretur, sicuti iussi erant, in proximos collis discedunt.

Interim Romae gaudium ingens ortum cognitis Metelli rebus, ut seque et exercitum more maiorum gereret, in aduerso loco uictor tamen uirtute fuisset, hostium agro potiretur, Iugurtham magnificum ex Albini socordia spem salutis in solitudine aut fuga coegisset habere. itaque senatus ob ea feliciter acta dis immortalibus supplicia decernere, ciuitas trepida antea et sollicita de belli euentu laeta agere, de Metello fama praeclara esse. igitur eo intentior ad uictoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare, cauere tamen necubi hosti opportunus fieret, meminisse post gloriam inuidiam sequi. ita quo clarior erat, eo magis anxius erat, neque post insidias Iugurthae effuso exercitu praedari: ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu praesidium agitabant; exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. sed igni magis quam praeda, ager uastabatur. duobus locis haud longe inter se castra faciebant. ubi opus erat, cuncti aderant. ceterum, quo fuga atque formido latius cresceret, diuersi agebant. eo tempore Iugurtha per collis sequi, tempus aut locum pugnae quaerere, qua uenturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, conrumpere, modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere, postremos in agmine temptare ac statim in collis regredi, rursus aliis, post aliis minitari, neque proelium facere neque otium pati, tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

Romanus imperator ubi se dolis fatigari uidet neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam et in ea parte qua sita erat arcem regni, nomine Zamam, statuit obpugnare, ratus, id quod negotium poscebat, Iugurtham laborantibus



2 suis auxilio uenturum, ibique proelium fore. at ille quae  
parabantur a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum  
anteuenit. oppidanos hortatur moenia defendant, additis  
auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere  
nequibat, firmissimum erat. praeterea pollicetur in tempore  
3 semet cum exercitu adfore. ita conpositis rebus in loca  
quam maxime occulta discedit ac post paulo cognoscit  
Marius ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus  
Siccam missum, quod oppidum primum omnium post  
4 malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. eo cum delectis equi-  
tibus noctu pergit et iam egredientibus Romanis in porta  
pugnam facit, simul magna uoce Siccenses hortatur uti  
cohortis ab tergo circumueniant: fortunam illis praeclari  
facinoris casum dare: si id fecerint, postea sese in regno,  
5 illos in libertate sine metu aetatem acturos. ac ni Marius  
signa inferre atque euadere oppido properauisset, profecto  
cuncti aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutauissent: tanta  
6 mobilitate sese Numidae gerunt. sed milites Iugurthini  
paulisper ab rege sustentati, postquam maiore ui hostes  
57 urgent, paucis amissis profugi discedunt. Marius ad Zamam  
peruenit. id oppidum in campo situm magis opere quam  
natura munitum erat, nullius idoneae rei egens, armis  
2 uirisque opulentum. igitur Metellus pro tempore atque  
loco paratis rebus cuncta moenia exercitu circumuenit,  
3 legatis imperat ubi quisque curaret. deinde signo dato  
undique simul clamor ingens oritur. neque ea res Numidas  
4 terret: infensi intentique sine tumultu manent. proelium  
incipitur: Romani pro ingenio quisque pars eminus glande  
aut lapidibus pugnare, alii succedere ac murum modo sub-  
fodere, modo scalis aggredi, cupere proelium in manibus  
5 facere; contra ea oppidani in proximos saxa uoluere, sudes,  
pila, praeterea picem sulphure et taeda mixtam ardentia  
6 mittere. sed ne illos quidem, qui procul manserant, timor

animi satis muniuerat. nam plerosque iacula tormentis aut manu emissa uolnerabant, parique periculo sed fama inpari boni atque ignaui erant.

Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Iugurtha ex inproviso 58 castra hostium cum magna manu inuadit: remissis qui in praesidio erant et omnia magis quam proelium expectantibus portam inrumpit. at nostri repentino metu perculsi sibi 2 quisque pro moribus consulunt; alii fugere, alii arma capere, magna pars uolnerati aut occisi. ceterum ex omni 3 multitudine non amplius quadraginta memores nominis Romani grege facto locum cepere paulo quam alii editiorem, neque inde maxuma ui depelli quiuerunt, sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrari; sin Numidae propius adcessissent, ibi uero uirtutem ostendere et eos maxuma ui cadere, fundere atque fugare. interim 4 Metellus, cum acerrume rem gereret, clamorem hostilem a tergo accepit, dein conuorso equo animaduortit fugam ad se uorsum fieri: quae res indicabat popularis esse. igitur 5 equitatum omnem ad castra propere misit ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum, eumque lacrimans per amicitiam perque rem publicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu uictore neue hostis inultos abire sinat. ille breui mandata efficit. at Iugurtha muni- 6 mento castrorum inpeditus, cum alii super uallum praecipitarentur, alii in angustis ipsi sibi properantes officerent, multis amissis in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus infecto 7 negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu reuertitur. igitur postero die, prius quam ad obpugnandum 59 egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis aduentus erat, pro castris agitare iubet, portas et proxuma loca tribunis dispertit, deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum atque uti superiore die murum aggreditur. interim Iugurtha ex 2 occulto repente nostros inuadit. qui in proximo locati

fuerant, paulisper territi perturbantur, reliqui cito sub-  
3 ueniunt. neque diutius Numidae resistere quiuissent, ni  
pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu  
facerent. quibus illi freti non, uti equestri proelio solet,  
sequi, dein cedere, sed aduersis equis concurrere, implicare  
ac perturbare aciem, ita expeditis peditibus suis hostis  
60 paene uictos dare. eodem tempore apud Zamam magna  
ui certabatur. ubi quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat,  
eo acerrume niti neque alius in alio magis quam in sese  
spem habere, pariterque oppidani agere: obpugnare aut  
parare omnibus locis, audius alteri alteros sauciare quam  
2 semet tegere; clamor permixtus hortatione laetitia gemitu,  
item strepitus armorum ad caelum ferri; tela utrimque  
3 uolare. sed illi qui moenia defensabant, ubi hostes paulum  
modo pugnam remiserant, intenti proelium equestre pro-  
4 spectabant. eos, uti quaeque Iugurthae res erant, laetos  
modo, modo pauidos animaduorteres ac, sicuti audiri a  
suis aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari aut manu  
significare aut niti corporibus et ea huc et illuc, quasi  
5 uitabundi aut iacentes tela, agitare. quod ubi Mario cog-  
nitum est (nam is in ea parte curabat) consulto lenius agere  
ac diffidentiam rei simulare, pati Numidas sine tumultu  
6 regis proelium uisere. ita illis studio suorum adstrictis  
repente magna ui murum aggreditur. et iam scalis egressi  
milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt,  
7 lapides, ignem, alia praeterea tela ingerunt. nostri primo  
resistere, deinde, ubi unae atque alterae scalae conminutae,  
qui supersteterant adflicti sunt, ceteri quoquo modo potuere,  
pauci integri, magna pars uulneribus confecti abeunt.  
8 denique utrimque proelium nox diremit.

61 Metellus, postquam uidet frustra inceptum, neque oppi-  
dum capi, neque Iugurtham nisi ex insidiis aut suo loco  
pugnam facere, et iam aestatem exactam esse, ab Zama

discedit et in eis urbibus, quae ad se defecerant satisque  
munitae loco aut moenibus erant, praesidia inponit. ceterum 2  
exercitum in prouinciam, quae proxuma est Numidiae,  
hiemandi gratia conlocat. neque id tempus ex aliorum 3  
more quieti aut luxuriae concedit, sed quoniam armis  
bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere  
et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. igitur Bomilcarem, 4  
qui Romae cum Iugurtha fuerat et inde uadibus datis de  
Massiuae nece iudicium fugerat, quod ei per maxumam  
amicitiam maxuma copia fallundi erat, multis pollicita-  
tionibus aggreditur. ac primo efficit uti ad se conloquendi 5  
gratia occultus ueniat, deinde fide data, si Iugurtham uiuom  
aut necatum sibi tradidisset, fore ut illi senatus inpunitatem  
et sua omnia concederet, facile Numidiae persuadet cum  
ingenio infido tum metuenti ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret,  
ipse per condiciones ad supplicium traderetur. is, ubi 62  
primum opportunum fuit, Iugurtham anxium ac miserantem  
fortunas suas adcedit. monet atque lacrumans obtestatur  
uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum optume  
meritae prouideat: omnibus proeliis sese uictos, agrum  
uastatum, multos mortalis captos occisos, regni opes con-  
minutas esse, satis saepe iam et uirtutem militum et fortunam  
temptatam: caueat ne illo cunctante Numidiae sibi con-  
sulant. his atque talibus aliis ad deditionem regis animum 2  
inpellit. mittuntur ad imperatorem legati, qui Iugurtham 3  
imperata facturum dicerent ac sine ulla pactione sese  
regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere. Metellus propere 4  
cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis accersi iubet: eorum  
et aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. ita 5  
more maiorum ex consili decreto per legatos Iugurthae  
imperat argenti pondo ducenta milia, elephantos omnis,  
equorum et armorum aliquantum. quae postquam sine 6  
mora facta sunt, iubet omnis perfugas uinctos adduci.

7 eorum magna pars, uti iussum erat, adducti; pauci, cum  
 primum deditio coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretaniam  
 8 abierant. igitur Iugurtha, ubi armis uirisque et pecunia  
 spoliatus est, cum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium uocaretur,  
 rursus coepit flectere animum suum et ex mala conscientia  
 9 digna timere. denique multis diebus per dubitationem  
 consumptis, cum modo taedio rerum aduersarum omnia  
 bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret quam  
 grauis casus in seruitium ex regno foret, multis magnisque  
 10 praesidiis nequiquam perditis de integro bellum sumit. et  
 Romae senatus de prouinciis consultus Numidiam Metello  
 decreuerat.

63 Per idem tempus Uticae forte C. Mario per hostias dis  
 subplicant magna atque mirabilia portendi haruspex dixerat:  
 proinde quae animo agitabat fretus dis ageret, fortunam  
 quam saepissime experiretur: cuncta prospere euentura.  
 2 at illum iam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat,  
 ad quem capiundum praeter uetustatem familiae alia  
 omnia abunde erant, industria, probitas, militiae magna  
 scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubricitatis et  
 3 diuitiarum uictor, tantummodo gloriae audax. sed is  
 natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum aetas  
 militiae patiens fuit, stipendiis faciendis, non Graeca facun-  
 dia neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit: ita inter artis  
 4 bonas integrum ingenium breui adoleuit. ergo ubi primum  
 tribunatum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem eius  
 ignorantibus, facile notus per omnis tribus declaratur.  
 5 deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit,  
 semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore  
 6 quam gerebat dignus haberetur. tamen is ad id locorum  
 talis uir (nam postea ambitione praeceps datus est) adpetere  
 non audebat. etiam tum alios magistratus plebs, consulatum  
 7 nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. nouos nemo tam

clarus neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur. igitur ubi Marius 64 haruspici dicta eodem intendere uidet, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petundi gratia missionem rogat. cui quamquam uirtus, gloria atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. itaque primum conmotus 2 insolita re mirari eius consilium et quasi per amicitiam monere ne tam praua inciperet neu super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse, debere illi res suas satis placere; postremo caueret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi iure negaretur. postquam haec atque 3 alia talia dixit, neque animus Mari flectitur, respondit, ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese quae peteret. ac postea saepius eadem postulanti fertur dixisse, 4 ne festinaret abire: satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum (is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter uiginti). quae res Marium cum pro honore quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum uehementer accenderat. ita cupidine atque ira, pessumis 5 consultoribus, grassari, neque facto ullo neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitiosum foret: milites quibus in hibernis praeerat laxiore imperio quam antea habere, apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, criminose simul et magnifice de bello loqui: dimidia pars exercitus si sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Iugurtham in catenis habiturum; ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis et regiae superbiae imperio nimis gauderet. quae omnia illis eo firmiora uidebantur, quia diuturnitate 6 belli res familiaris conruperant, et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur. erat praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam 65 nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissae nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredem scripserat, morbis

- 2 confectus et ob eam causam mente paulum inminuta. cui Metellus petenti more regum ut sellam iuxta poneret, item postea custodiae causa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negauerat—honorem, quod eorum more foret, quos populus Romanus reges appellauisset, praesidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites
- 3 Numidiae traderentur. hunc Marius anxium aggreditur atque hortatur ut contumeliarum in imperatorem cum suo auxilio poenas petat; hominem ob morbos animo parum ualido secunda oratione extollit: illum regem, ingentem uirum, Masinissae nepotem esse; si Iugurtha captus aut occisus foret, imperium Numidiae sine mora habiturum; id adeo mature posse euenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum
- 4 missus foret. itaque et illum et equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque pacis spes inpellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello
- 5 scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. sic illi a multis mortalibus honestissima suffragatione consulatus petebatur. simul ea tempestate plebs, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. ita Mario cuncta procedere.
- 66 Interim Iugurtha postquam omissa deditione bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum, ciuitatis quae ab se defecerant formidine aut ostentando praemia adfectare, communire suos locos, arma, tela aliaque, quae spe pacis amiserat, reficere aut commercari, seruitia Romanorum adlicere et eos ipsos, qui in praesidiis erant, pecunia temptare: prorsus nihil intactum
- 2 neque quietum pati, cuncta agitare. igitur Vagenses, quo Metellus initio Iugurtha pacificante praesidium inposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciis, neque antea uoluntate alienati, principes ciuitatis inter se coniurant. nam uolgens, uti plerumque solet et maxime Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum nouarum

rerum, quieti et otio aduersum. dein conpositis inter se rebus in diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus celebratusque per omnem Africam ludum et lasciuia magis quam formidinem ostentabat. sed ubi tempus fuit, centuriones 3 tribunosque militaris et ipsum praefectum oppidi T. Turpilium Silanum alius alium domos suas inuitant. eos omnis praeter Turpilium inter epulas obtruncant. postea milites palantis inermos, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, aggrediuntur. idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii 4 studio talium rerum incitati, quis acta consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipse et res nouae satis placebant. Romani 67 milites, inproviso metu incerti ignarique quid potissimum facerent, trepidare. arce oppidi (ubi signa et scuta erant) praesidium hostium, portae ante clausae fuga prohibebant. ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis aedificiorum saxa et alia quae locus praebebat certatim mittere. ita neque cauere 2 anceps malum neque a fortissimis infirmissimo generi resisti posse: iuxta boni malique, strenui et inbelles inulti obtruncari. in ea tanta asperitate, saeuissimis Numidis et 3 oppido undique clauso, Turpilius praefectus unus ex omnibus Italicis intactus profugit. id misericordiane hospitis actione an casu ita euenerit, parum comperimus: nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis uita integra fama potior fuit, improbus intestabilisque uidetur.

Metellus, postquam de rebus Vagae actis comperit, 68 paulisper maestus ex conspectu abit. deinde ubi ira et aegritudo permixta sunt, cum maxuma cura ultum ire iniurias festinat. legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et quam 2 plurimos potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit et postero die circiter hora tertia peruenit in quandam planitiem locis paulo superioribus circumuentam. ibi milites ictos itineris magnitudine et iam abnuentis 3 omnia docet oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum



- abesse: decere illos relicum laborem aequo animo pati, dum pro ciuibus suis, uiris fortissumis atque miserrimis, poenas caperent. praeterea praedam benigne ostentat.
- 4 sic animis eorum adrectis equites in primo late, pedites
- 69 quam artissime ire et signa occultare iubet. Vagenses ubi animum aduortere ad se uorsum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum esse rati portas clausere, deinde ubi neque agros uastari et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites uident, rursum Iugurtham arbitrati cum
- 2 magno gaudio obuui procedunt. equites peditesque repente signo dato alii uolgum effusum oppido caedere, alii ad portas festinare, pars turris capere: ira atque praedae spes
- 3 amplius quam lassitudo posse. ita Vagenses biduom modo ex perfidia laetati. ciuitas magna et opulens cuncta poenae
- 4 aut praedae fuit. Turpilius, quem praefectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, iussus a Metello causam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus uerberatusque capite poenas soluit: nam is ciuis e Latio erat.
- 70 Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cuius impulsu Iugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi et ipse eum suspiciens, nouas res cupere, ad perniciem eius
- 2 dolum quaerere, die noctuque fatigare animum. denique omnia temptando socium sibi adiungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, clarum acceptumque popularibus suis, qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare et omnis res exequi solitus erat, quae Iugurthae fesso aut maioribus adstricto superauerant. ex quo illi gloria opesque
- 3 inuentae. igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur.
- 4 cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Roma-
- 5 norum iussus habebat, ne ager inultis hostibus uastaretur. is postquam magnitudine facinoris percussus ad tempus non

uenit metusque rem inpediebat, Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi et timore soci anxius, ne omisso uetere consilio nouom quaereret, litteras ad eum per homines fidelis mittit, in quis mollitiam socordiamque uiri accusare, 6 testari deos per quos iurauisset, monere ne praemia Metelli in pestem conuorteret: Iugurthae exitium adesse, ceterum suane an Metelli uirtute periret, id modo agitari: proinde reputaret cum animo suo, praemia an cruciatum mallet. sed cum eae litterae adlatae, forte Nabdalsa exercito corpore 71 fessus in lecto quiescebat, ubi cognitis Bomilcaris uerbis 2 primo cura, deinde, uti aegrum animum solet, somnus cepit. erat ei Numida quidam negotiorum curator, fidus acceptus- 3 que et omnium consiliorum nisi nouissumi particeps. qui 4 postquam adlatas litteras audiuit et ex consuetudine ratus opera aut ingenio suo opus esse in tabernaculum introiit, dormiente illo epistulam super caput in puluino temere positam sumit ac perlegit, dein propere cognitis insidiis ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa paulo post experrectus, ubi neque 5 epistulam repperit et rem omnem uti acta erat cognouit, primo indicem persequi conatus, postquam id frustra fuit, Iugurtham placandi gratia adcedit: dicit quae ipse paruisset facere perfidia clientis sui praeuenta, lacrumans obtestatur per amicitiam perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet. ad ea rex aliter 72 atque animo gerebat placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognouerat, interfectis iram obpresserat, ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oreretur. neque 2 post id locorum Iugurthae dies aut nox ulla quieta fuit: neque loco neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori satis credere, ciuis hostisque iuxta metuere, circumspectare omnia et omni strepitu pauescere, alio *atque alio* loco, saepe contra decus regum noctu requiescere, interdum somno excitus arreptis armis tumultum facere, ita formidine quasi uecordia exagitari.

- 73 Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio pate-  
facto ex perfugis cognouit, rursus tamquam ad integrum  
2 bellum cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de  
profectione, simul et inuitum et offensum sibi parum  
3 idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. et Romae plebes litteris,  
quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitis uolenti  
4 animo de ambobus acceperant. imperatori nobilitas, quae  
antea decori fuit, inuidiae esse, at illi alteri generis humilitas  
fauorem addiderat. ceterum in utroque magis studia par-  
5 tium quam bona aut mala sua moderata. praeterea  
seditiosi magistratus uolgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus  
contionibus capitis accersere, Mari uirtutem in maius  
6 celebrare. denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestes-  
que omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant,  
relictis operibus frequentarent Marium et sua necessaria  
7 post illius honorem ducerent. ita perculsa nobilitate post  
multas tempestates nouo homini consulatus mandatur. et  
postea populus a tribuno plebis T. Manlio Mancino rogatus  
quem uellet cum Iugurtha bellum gerere, frequens Marium  
iussit. sed paulo *ante senatus Metello Numidiam* decreuerat :  
ea res frustra fuit.
- 74 Eodem tempore Iugurtha amissis amicis (quorum pleros-  
que ipse necauerat, ceteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii  
ad regem Bocchum profugerant), cum neque bellum geri  
sine administris posset et nouorum fidem in tanta perfidia  
ueterum experiri periculosum duceret, uariis incertisque  
agitabat. neque illi res neque consilium aut quisquam  
hominum satis placebat. itinera praefectosque in dies  
mutare, modo aduersum hostis, interdum in solitudines  
pergere, saepe in fuga ac post paulo in armis spem habere,  
dubitare uirtuti an fidei popularium minus crederet: ita  
2 quocumque intenderat res aduersae erant. sed inter eas  
moras repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit.

Numidae ab Iugurtha pro tempore parati instructique; dein proelium incipitur. qua in parte rex pugnae adfuit, ibi 3 aliquamdiu certatum: ceteri eius omnes milites primo congressu pulsifugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti: nam ferme Numidis in omnibus proeliis magis pedes quam arma tuta sunt.

Ea fuga Iugurtha inpensius modo rebus suis diffidens 75 cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam peruenit, in oppidum magnum atque opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri filiorumque eius multus pueritiae cultus erat. quae postquam Metello conperta sunt, quamquam 2 inter Thalam flumenque proximum in spatio milium quinquaginta loca arida atque uasta esse cognoverat, tamen spe patrandi belli, si eius oppidi potitus foret, omnis asperitates superuadere ac naturam etiam uincere aggreditur. igitur 3 omnia iumenta sarcinis leuari iubet nisi frumento dierum decem, ceterum utris modo et alia aquae idonea portari. praeterea conquirat ex agris quam plurimum potest domiti 4 pecoris. eo inponit uasa cuiusque modi, sed pleraque lignea, conlecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. ad hoc finitumis 5 imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquae portaret: diem locumque, ubi praesto fuerint, praedicit. ipse ex flumine, quam proximam 6 oppido aquam esse supra diximus, iumenta onerat: eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. deinde ubi ad id loci 7 uentum, quo Numidis praeceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente caelo missa uis aquae dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. praeterea conmeatus 8 spe amplior, quia Numidae, sicuti plerique in noua deditione, officia intenderant. ceterum milites religione 9 pluuiam magis usi, eaque res multum animis eorum addidit. nam rati sese dis immortalibus curae esse. deinde postero die contra opinionem Iugurthae ad Thalam perueniunt.

10 oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant,  
magna atque insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum  
76 parare: idem nostri facere. sed rex nihil iam infectum  
Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, arma, tela, locos,  
tempora, denique naturam ipsam ceteris imperitantem  
industria uicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex  
oppido noctu profugit, neque postea in ullo loco amplius  
uno die aut una nocte moratus simulabat sese negoti gratia  
properare. ceterum prodicionem timebat, quem uitare  
posse celeritate putabat: nam talia consilia per otium et ex  
2 opportunitate capi. at Metellus, ubi oppidanos proelio  
intentos, simul oppidum et operibus et loco munitum uidet,  
3 uallo fossaque moenia circumuenit. deinde locis ex copia  
maxume idoneis uineas agere, aggerem iacere et super  
aggerem inpositis turribus opus et administros tutari.  
4 contra haec oppidani festinare, parare: prorsus ab utrisque  
5 nihil relicum fieri. denique Romani, multo ante labore  
proeliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta quam eo uentum  
erat oppido modo potiti: praeda omnis ab perfugis con-  
6 rupta. ei postquam murum arietibus feriri resque suas  
adflctas uident, aurum atque argentum et alia quae prima  
ducuntur domum regiam conportant. ibi uino et epulis  
onerati illaque et domum et semet igni conrumpunt, et,  
quas uicti ab hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi uolentes  
pependere.

77 Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad  
Metellum uenerant orantes uti praesidium praefectumque  
eo mitteret: Hamilcarem quendam hominem nobilem  
factiosum nouis rebus studere, aduersum quem neque  
imperia magistratuum neque leges ualerent. ni id festi-  
naret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios  
2 fore. nam Leptitani iam inde a principio belli Iugurthini  
ad Bestiam consulem et postea Romam miserant amicitiam

societatemque rogatum. deinde, ubi ea inpetrata, semper 3  
boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta a Bestia Albino Metel-  
loque imperata nave fecerant. itaque ab imperatore facile 4  
quae petebant adepti. emissae eo cohortes Ligurum quat-  
tuor et C. Annius praefectus. id oppidum ab Sidoniis 78  
conditum est, quos accepimus profugos ob discordias  
civilis nauibus in eos locos uenisse. ceterum situm inter  
duas Syrtis, quibus nomen ex re inditum. nam duo sunt 2  
sinus prope in extrema Africa inpaes magnitudine, pari  
natura. quorum proxuma terrae praealta sunt, cetera, uti  
fors tulit, alta alia, *alia* in tempestate uadosa. nam ubi 3  
mare magnum esse et saeuire uentis coepit, limum hare-  
namque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum  
cum uentis simul mutatur: Syrtes ab tractu nominatae.  
eius ciuitatis lingua modo conuorsa conubio Numidarum, 4  
legum cultusque pleraque Sidonica, quae eo facilius retine-  
bant, quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant. inter 5  
illos et frequentem Numidiam multi uastique loci erant.

Sed quoniam in eas regiones per Leptitanorum negotia 79  
uenimus, non indignum uidetur egregium atque mirabile  
facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem nos  
locus admonuit. qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraque 2  
Africa imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opu-  
lenti fuere. ager in medio harenosus, una specie, neque 3  
flumen neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret. quae  
res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. post- 4  
quam utrimque legiones, item classes saepe fusae fugataeque,  
et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriuierant, ueriti ne mox uictos  
uictoresque defessos alius aggredieretur, per indutias spon-  
sionem faciunt, uti certo die legati domo profiscerentur:  
quo in loco inter se obuui fuissent, is communis utriusque  
populi finis haberetur. igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, 5  
quibus nomen Philaenis erat, maturauere iter pergere.

Cyrenenses tardius iere. id socordiane an casu acciderit  
6 parum cognoui. ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud  
secus atque in mari retinere. nam ubi per loca aequalia et  
nuda gignentium uentus coortus harenam humo excitauit,  
ea magna ui agitata ora oculosque implere solet, ita  
7 prospectu impedito morari iter. postquam Cyrenenses  
aliquanto posteriores se esse uident et ob rem corruptam  
domi poenas metuunt, criminari Carthaginiensis ante tempus  
domo digressos, conturbare rem, denique omnia malle quam  
8 uicti abire. sed cum Poeni aliam condicionem, tantum-  
modo aequam, peterent, Graeci optionem Carthaginiensium  
faciunt, ut uel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi uiui  
obruerentur, uel eadem condicione sese quem in locum  
9 uellent processuros. Philaeni condicione probata seque  
uitamque suam rei publicae condonauere: ita uiui obruti.  
10 Carthaginienses in eo loco Philaenis fratribus aras con-  
secrauere, alique illis domi honores instituti. nunc ad rem  
redeo.

80 Iugurtha, postquam amissa Thala nihil satis firmum  
contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis  
profectus, peruenit ad Gaetulos, genus hominum ferum  
incultumque et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani.  
2 eorum multitudinem in unum cogit ac paulatim consuefacit  
ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium obseruare, item alia  
3 militaria facere. praeterea regis Bocchi proximos magnis  
muneribus et maioribus promissis ad studium sui perducit:  
quis adiutoribus regem aggressus inpellit uti aduersus  
4 Romanos bellum incipiat. id ea gratia facilius proniusque  
fuit, quod Bocchus initio huiusce belli legatos Romam  
5 miserat foedus et amicitiam petitem, quam rem opportu-  
nissumam incepto bello pauci impediuerant caeci auaritia,  
quis omnia honesta atque inhonesta uendere mos erat.  
6 etiam antea Iugurthae filia Bocchi nupserat. uerum ea

necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur, quia singuli pro opibus quisque quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii pluris habent, sed reges eo amplius. ita animus 7  
multitudine distrahitur: nulla pro socia optinet, pariter omnes uiles sunt. igitur in locum ambobus placitum 81  
exercitus conueniunt. ibi fide data et accepta Iugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: Romanos iniustos, profunda auaritia communis omnium hostis esse; eandem illos causam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi, quis omnia regna aduorsa sint: tum sese, paulo ante Carthaginiensis, item regem Persen, post uti quisque opulentissimus uideatur, ita Romanis hostem fore. eis atque aliis talibus dictis 2  
ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt, quod ibi Metellus praedam captiuosque et inpedimenta locauerat. ita Iugurtha 3  
ratus aut capta urbe operae pretium fore aut, si dux Romanus auxilio suis uenisset, proelio sese certaturos. nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem inminuere, 4  
ne moras agitando aliud quam bellum mallet.

Imperator postquam de regum societate cognouit, non 82  
temere neque, uti saepe iam uicto Iugurtha consueuerat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit. ceterum haud procul ab Cirta castris munitis reges opperitur, melius esse ratus cognitis Mauris, quoniam is nouos hostis adcesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere. interim Roma per litteras 2  
certior fit prouinciam Numidiam Mario datam. nam consulem factum ante acceperat. quibus rebus supra bonum aut honestum percussus, neque lacrimas tenere neque moderari linguam: uir egregius in aliis artibus nimis molliter aegritudinem pati. quam rem alii in superbiam 3  
uortebant, alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse, multi, quod iam parta uictoria ex manibus eriperetur. nobis satis cognitum est illum magis honore Mari quam iniuria



sua excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si adempta  
83 prouincia alii quam Mario traderetur. igitur eo dolore  
inpeditus et quia stultitiae uidebatur alienam rem periculo  
suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit postulatum, ne sine  
causa hostis populo Romano fieret: habere tum magnam  
copiam societatis amicitiaeque coniungendae, quae potior  
bello esset, et, quamquam opibus suis confideret, tamen non  
debere incerta pro certis mutare: omne bellum sumi facile,  
ceterum aegerrume desinere; non in eiusdem potestate  
initium eius et finem esse: incipere cuius, etiam ignauo,  
licere, deponi, cum uictores uelint; proinde sibi regnoque  
suo consuleret, neu florentis res suas cum Iugurthae perditis  
2 misceret. ad ea rex satis placide uerba facit: sese pacem  
cupere, sed Iugurthae fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi  
3 copia fieret, omnia conuentura. rursus imperator contra  
postulata Bocchi nuntios mittit; ille probare partim, alia  
abnuere. eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque  
nuntiis tempus procedere, et ex Metelli uoluntate bellum  
intactum trahi.

84 At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissima plebe consul  
factus, postquam ei prouinciam Numidiam populus iussit,  
antea iam infestus nobilitati, tum uero multus atque ferox  
instare, singulos modo, modo uniuersos laedere, dictitare  
sese consulatum ex uictis illis spolia cepisse, alia praeterea  
2 magnifica pro se et illis dolentia, interim quae bello opus  
erant prima habere: postulare legionibus supplementum,  
auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque accersere, praeterea  
ex Latio fortissimum quemque, plerosque militiae, paucos  
fama cognitos accire et ambiundo cogere homines emeritis  
3 stipendiis secum proficisci. neque illi senatus, quamquam  
aduorsus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat. ceterum  
supplementum etiam laetus decreuerat, quia neque plebi  
militia uolenti putabatur et Marius aut belli usum aut

studia uolgi amissurus. sed ea res frustra sperata: tanta  
lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque inuaserat: sese quisque 4  
praeda locupletem fore, uictorem domum rediturum, alia  
huiusmodi animis trahebant, et eos non paulum oratione  
sua Marius adrexerat. nam postquam, omnibus quae postu- 5  
lauerat decretis, milites scribere uolt, hortandi causa, simul  
et nobilitatem uti consueuerat exagitandi, contionem populi  
aduocauit. deinde hoc modo disseruit.

‘Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non eisdem artibus impe- 85  
rium a uobis petere et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere: primo  
industrios, supplices, modicos esse, dein per ignauiam et  
superbiam aetatem agere. sed mihi contra ea uidetur.  
nam quo pluris est uniuersa res publica quam consulatus 2  
aut praetura, eo maiore cura illam administrari quam haec  
peti debere. neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo 3  
beneficio uostro negoti sustineam. bellum parare simul  
et aerario parcere, cogere ad militiam eos quos nolis  
offendere, domi forisque omnia curare, et ea agere inter  
inuidos, occursantis, factiosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius  
est. ad hoc, alii si deliquere, uetus nobilitas, maiorum 4  
fortia facta, cognatorum et adfinium opes, multae clientelae,  
omnia haec praesidio adsunt: mihi spes omnes in memet  
sita, quas necesse est uirtute et innocentia tutari. nam  
alia infirma sunt. et illud intellego, Quirites, omnium ora 5  
in me conuorsa esse, aequos bonosque fauere, quippe mea  
bene facta rei publicae procedunt, nobilitatem locum inua-  
dendi quaerere. quo mihi acrius adnitundum est uti neque 6  
uos capiamini et illi frustra sint. ita ad hoc aetatis a 7  
pueritia fui, uti omnis labores et pericula consueta habeam.  
quae ante uostra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti accepta 8  
mercede deseram non est consilium, Quirites. illis difficile 9  
est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese  
probos simulauere; mihi, qui omnem aetatem in optumis

artibus egi, bene facere iam ex consuetudine in naturam  
 10 uortit. bellum me gerere cum Iugurtha iussistis, quam rem  
 nobilitas aegerrime tulit. quaeso, reputate cum animis  
 uostris, num id mutare melius sit, si quem ex illo globo  
 nobilitatis ad hoc aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem  
 ueteris prosapiae ac multarum imaginum et nullius stipendi—  
 scilicet ut in tanta re ignarus omnium trepidet, festinet,  
 11 sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii sui. ita plerum-  
 que euenit ut quem uos imperare iussistis, is imperatorem  
 12 alium quaerat. atque ego scio, Quirites, qui, postquam  
 consules facti sunt, et acta maiorum et Graecorum militaria  
 praecepta legere coeperint—praeposteri homines: nam  
 gerere quam fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu prius  
 13 est. comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me  
 hominem nouom. quae illi audire aut legere solent, eorum  
 partem uidi, alia egomet gessi; quae illi litteris, ea ego  
 14 militando didici. nunc uos existumate facta an dicta pluris  
 sint. contemnunt nouitatem meam, ego illorum ignauiam;  
 15 mihi fortuna, illis probra obiectantur. quamquam ego  
 naturam unam et communem omnium existumo, sed fortis-  
 16 sumum quemque generosissimum. ac si iam ex patribus  
 Albini aut Bestiae quaeri posset, mene an illos ex se gigni  
 maluerint, quid responsuros creditis, nisi sese liberos quam  
 17 optimos uoluisse? quod si iure me despiciunt, faciant idem  
 maioribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex uirtute nobilitas coepit.  
 18 inuident honori meo: ergo inuideant labori, innocentiae,  
 19 periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. uerum  
 homines corrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi uostros  
 honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste uixerint.  
 20 ne illi falsi sunt, qui diuersissimas res pariter expectant,  
 21 ignauiae uoluptatem et praemia uirtutis. atque etiam, cum  
 apud uos aut in senatu uerba faciunt, pleraque oratione  
 maiores suos extollunt, eorum fortia facta memorando

clariores sese putant. quod contra est. nam quanto 22  
uita illorum praeclarius, tanto horum socordia flagitiosior.  
et profecto ita se res habet: maiorum gloria posteris quasi 23  
lumen est, neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur.  
huiusce rei ego inopiam fateor, Quirites, uerum, id quod 24  
multo praeclarius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. nunc 25  
uidete quam iniqui sint. quod ex aliena uirtute sibi adro-  
gant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt, scilicet quia imagines  
non habeo et quia mihi noua nobilitas est, quam certe  
peperisse melius est quam acceptam conrupisse. equidem 26  
ego non ignoro, si iam mihi respondere uelint, abunde illis  
facundam et conpositam orationem fore. sed in uostro  
maximo beneficio cum omnibus locis me uosque maledictis  
lacerent, non placuit reticere, nequis modestiam in con-  
scientiam duceret. nam me quidem ex animi mei sententia 27  
nulla oratio laedere potest. quippe uera necesse est bene  
praedicent, falsa uita moresque mei superant. sed quoniam 28  
uostri consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem et  
maximum negotium inposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate,  
num eorum paenitendum sit. non possum fidei causa 29  
imagines neque triumphos aut consulatus maiorum meorum  
ostentare, at, si res postulet, hastas, uexillum, phaleras, alia  
militaria dona, praeterea cicatrices aduerso corpore. hae 30  
sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas, non hereditate relictas,  
ut illa illis, sed quae ego meis plurimis laboribus et  
periculis quaesiui. non sunt conposita uerba mea: parui 31  
id facio. ipsa se uirtus satis ostendit: illis artificio opus  
est, ut turpia facta oratione tegant. neque litteras Graecas 32  
didici: parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad uirtutem  
doctoribus nihil profuerant. at illa multo optuma rei pub- 33  
licae doctus sum, hostem ferire, praesidium agitare, nihil  
metuere nisi turpem famam, hiemem et aestatem iuxta pati,  
humi requiescere, eodem tempore inopiam et laborem

34 tolerare. his ego praeceptis milites hortabor, neque illos  
arte colam, me opulenter, neque gloriam meam, laborem  
35 illorum faciam. hoc est utile, hoc ciuile imperium. namque  
cum tute per mollitiam agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id  
36 est dominum, non imperatorem esse. haec atque talia  
maiores uostri faciundo seque remque publicam celebrauere.  
37 quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum  
aemulos contemnit, et omnis honores non ex merito, sed  
38 quasi debitos a uobis repetit. ceterum homines super-  
bissumi procul errant. maiores eorum omnia quae licebat  
illis reliquere, diuitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram:  
uirtutem non reliquere, neque poterant: ea sola neque  
39 datur dono neque accipitur. sordidum me et incultis  
moribus aiunt, quia parum scite conuiuium exorno neque  
histrionem ullum neque pluris preti cocum quam uilicium  
40 habeo. quae mihi lubet confiteri, Quirites. nam ex  
parente meo et ex aliis sanctis uiris ita accepi: munditias  
mulieribus, laborem uiris conuenire, omnibusque bonis  
oportere plus gloriae quam diuitiarum esse; arma, non  
41 suppellectilem decori esse. quin ergo quod iuuat, quod  
carum aestumant, id semper faciant: ament, potent, ubi  
adulescentiam habuere ibi senectutem agant—in conuiuuiis,  
dediti uentri et turpissumae parti corporis; sudorem, pul-  
uerem et alia talia relinquunt nobis, quibus illa epulis  
42 iucundiora sunt. uerum non ita est. nam ubi se flagitiis  
dedecorauere, turpissumi uiri bonorum praemia ereptum  
43 eunt. ita inuicissimè luxuria et ignauia, pessumae artes,  
illis qui coluere eas nihil efficiunt, rei publicae innoxiae  
44 cladi sunt. nunc quoniam illis, quantum mei mores, non  
illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi, pauca de re publica  
45 loquar. primum omnium de Numidia bonum habete  
animum, Quirites. nam quae ad hoc tempus Iugurtham  
tutata sunt, omnia remouistis, auaritiam, inperitiam atque

superbiam. deinde exercitus ibi est locorum sciens, sed mehercule magis strenuus quam felix. nam magna pars 46 eius auaritia aut temeritate ducum adtrita est. quam ob 47 rem uos, quibus militaris aetas est, adnitimini mecum et capessite rem publicam, neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. egomet in agmine aut in proelio consultor idem et socius periculi uobiscum adero, meque uosque in omnibus rebus iuxta geram. et profecto dis iuuantibus omnia matura sunt, 48 uictoria, praeda, laus. quae si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos rei publicae subuenire decebat. etenim 49 nemo ignauia immortalis factus est, neque quisquam parens liberis uti aeterni forent optauit, magis uti boni honestique uitam exigerent. plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis 50 uirtutem uerba adderent. nam strenuis abunde dictum puto.

Huiuscemodi oratione habita Marius, postquam plebis 86 animos arrectos uidet, propere conmeatu, stipendio, armis aliisque utilibus nauis onerat; cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci iubet. ipse interea milites scribere, non more 2 maiorum neque ex classibus, sed uti cuiusque lubido erat, capite census plerosque. id factum alii inopia bonorum, 3 alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant, quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat, et homini potentiam quaerenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus, cui neque sua cara, quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia cum pretio honesta uidentur. igitur Marius, cum aliquanto maiore 4 numero quam decretum erat in Africam profectus, paucis diebus Uticam aduehitur. exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio 5 legato. nam Metellus conspectum Mari fugerat, ne uideret ea quae audita animus tolerare nequiuerat. sed consul 87 expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis in agrum fertilem et praeda onustum proficiscitur; omnia ibi capta

militibus donat. dein castella et oppida natura et uiris  
 parum munita aggreditur, proelia multa, ceterum leuia,  
 2 alia aliis locis facere. interim noui milites sine metu  
 pugnae adesse, uidere fugientis capi aut occidi, fortissimum  
 quemque tutissimum, armis libertatem, patriam parentesque  
 3 et alia omnia tegi, gloriam atque diuitias quaeri. sic breui  
 spatio noui ueteresque coaluere et uirtus omnium aequalis  
 4 facta. at reges, ubi de aduentu Mari cognouerunt, diuorsi  
 in locos difficilis abeunt. ita Iugurthae placuerat, speranti  
 mox effusos hostis inuadi posse: Romanos sicuti plerosque  
 88 remoto metu laxius licentiusque futuros. Metellus interea  
 Romam profectus contra spem suam laetissimis animis  
 excipitur, plebi patribusque, postquam inuidia decesserat,  
 2 iuxta carus. sed Marius inpigre prudenterque suorum et  
 hostium res pariter adtendere, cognoscere quid boni utrisque  
 aut contra esset, explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias  
 eorum anteuenire, nihil apud se remissum neque apud illos  
 3 tutum pati. itaque et Gaetulos et Iugurtham ex sociis  
 nostris praedas agentis saepe aggressus in itinere fuderat,  
 ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Ciria armis exu-  
 4 erat. quae postquam gloriosa modo neque belli patrandi  
 cognouit, statuit urbis, quae uiris aut loco pro hostibus et  
 aduersum se opportunissimae erant, singulas circumuenire:  
 ita Iugurtham aut praesidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut  
 5 proelio certaturum. nam Bocchus nuntios ad eum saepe  
 miserat: uelle populi Romani amicitiam: nequid ab se  
 6 hostile timeret. id simulaueritne, quo inprouisus grauior  
 accideret, an mobilitate ingeni pacem atque bellum mutare  
 solitus, parum exploratum est.  
 89 Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita  
 adire, partim ui, alia metu aut praemia ostentando auortere  
 2 ab hostibus. ac primo mediocria gerebat, existumans  
 3 Iugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus uenturum. sed

ubi illum procul abesse et aliis negotiis intentum accepit, maiora et magis aspera aggredi tempus uisum est. erat 4 inter ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum atque ualens, nomine Capsa, cuius conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. eius ciues apud Iugurtham immunes leui imperio et ob ea fidelissimi habebantur, muniti aduersum hostis non moenibus modo et armis atque uiris, uerum etiam multo magis locorum asperitate. nam, praeter oppido 5 propinqua, alia omnia uasta, inculta, egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus, quarum uis sicuti omnium ferarum inopia cibi acior. ad hoc natura serpentium, ipsa perniciosa, siti magis quam alia re accenditur. eius potiundi Marium 6 maxuma cupido inuaserat, cum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera uidebatur et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque, nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a moenibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo atque ea intra oppidum iugi aqua, cetera pluuiam utebantur. id ibique et in omni 7 Africa, quae procul a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidae plerumque lacte et ferina carne uescebantur et neque salem neque alia inritamenta gulae quaerebant: cibus illis aduersus famem atque sitim, non lubricitati neque luxuriae erat. igitur consul, omnibus 90 exploratis, credo dis fretus (nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis prouidere non poterat, quippe etiam frumenti inopia temptabatur, quia Numidae pabulo pecoris magis quam aruo student et quodcumque natum fuerat iussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager autem aridus et frugum uacuos ea tempestate: nam aestatis extremum erat), tamen pro rei copia satis prouidenter exornat: pecus omne, 2 quod superioribus diebus praedae fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum adtribuit, A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium et conneatum



locauerat, ire iubet dicitque se praedabundum post paucos  
 3 dies eodem uenturum. sic incepto suo occultato pergit ad  
 91 flumen Tanain. ceterum in itinere cotidie pecus exercitui  
 per centurias, item turmas aequaliter distribuerat et ex coriis  
 utres uti fierent curabat, simul inopiam frumenti lenire et  
 ignaris omnibus parare, quae mox usui forent. denique  
 sexto die, cum ad flumen uentum est, maxuma uis utrius  
 2 effecta. ibi castris leui munimento positis milites cibum  
 capere atque, uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos  
 esse iubet: omnibus sarcinis abiectis aqua modo seque et  
 3 iumenta onerare. dein, postquam tempus uisum, castris  
 egreditur noctemque totam itinere facto consedit. idem  
 proxuma facit, dein tertia multo ante lucis aduentum per-  
 uenit in locum tumultuosum ab Capsa non amplius duum  
 milium interuallo, ibique quam occultissime potest cum  
 4 omnibus copiis operitur. sed ubi dies coepit et Numidae  
 nihil hostile metuentes multi oppido egressi, repente omnem  
 equitatum et cum eis uelocissimos pedites cursu tendere ad  
 Capsam et portas obsidere iubet. deinde ipse intentus  
 5 propere sequi neque milites praedari sinere. quae post-  
 quam oppidani cognouere, res trepidae, metus ingens,  
 malum inprovisum, ad hoc pars ciuium extra moenia in  
 6 hostium potestate coegere uti deditionem facerent. ceterum  
 oppidum incensum, Numidae puberes interfecti, alii omnes  
 7 uenumdati, praeda militibus diuisa. id facinus contra ius  
 belli non auaritia neque scelere consulis admissum, sed quia  
 locus Iugurthae opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus  
 hominum mobile, infidum, ante neque beneficio neque metu  
 coercitum.

92 Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo suorum incom-  
 modo peregit, magnus et clarus antea, maior atque clarior  
 2 haberi coepit. omnia non bene consulta in uirtutem  
 trahebantur, milites, modesto imperio habiti simul et

locupletes, ad caelum ferre, Numidae magis quam mortalem timere, postremo omnes, socii atque hostes, credere illi aut mentem diuinam esse aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi. sed consul, ubi ea res bene euenit, ad alia oppida pergit, 3 pauca repugnantibus Numidis capit, plura *deserta* propter Capsensium miserias igni conrumpit: luctu atque caede omnia complentur. denique multis locis potitus, ac pleris- 4 que exercitu incruento, aliam rem aggreditur, non eadem asperitate qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem.

Namque haud longe a flumine Muluccha, quod Iugur- 5 thae Bocchique regnum diiungebat, erat inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnis natura uelut opere atque consulto praeceps. quem locum 6 Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa ui capere intendit. sed ea res forte quam consilio melius gesta. nam castello uirorum atque armorum satis et magna uis 7 frumenti et fons aquae, aggeribus turribusque et altis machinationibus locus inportunus, iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque praecisum: *ea* uineae cum ingenti 8 periculo frustra agebantur. nam cum eae paulo processe- rant, igni aut lapidibus conrumpebantur, milites neque pro 9 opere consistere propter iniquitatem loci neque inter uineas sine periculo administrare: optimus quisque cadere aut sauciari, ceteris metus augeri. at Marius, multis diebus et 93 laboribus consumptis, anxius trahere cum animo suo omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua saepe prospere usus fuerat. quae cum 2 multos dies noctisque aestuans agitare, forte quidam Ligus ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius castris aquatum egressus haud procul ab latere castelli, quod auorsum proeliantibus erat, animum aduortit inter saxa repentis cocleas, quarum cum unam atque alteram, dein plures

peteret, studio legundi paulatim prope ad summum montis  
3 egressus est. ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more  
4 ingeni humani cupido difficilia faciundi animum uortit. et  
forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paulum  
modo prona, deinde inflexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo  
cuncta gignentium natura fert. cuius ramis modo, modo  
eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus in castelli planitiem peruenit,  
5 quod cuncti Numidae intenti proeliantibus aderant. ex-  
ploratis omnibus quae mox usui fore ducebat, eadem  
regreditur, non temere, uti adscenderat, sed temptans omnia  
6 et circumspiciens. itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet,  
hortatur ab ea parte, qua ipse adscenderat, castellum  
7 temptet, pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius  
cum Ligure promissa eius cognitum ex praesentibus misit,  
quorum uti cuiusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut  
facilem nuntiauerunt. consulis animus tamen paulum ad-  
8 rectus. itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero  
quinque quam uelocissimos delegit et cum eis, praesidio  
qui forent, quattuor centuriones, omnisque Liguri parere  
94 iubet et ei negotio proximum diem constituit. sed ubi ex  
praecepto tempus uisum, paratis conpositisque omnibus ad  
locum pergit. ceterum illi, qui escensuri erant, praedocti  
ab duce arma ornatumque mutauerant, capite atque pedibus  
nudis, uti prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret; super  
terga gladii et scuta, uerum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis  
2 gratia simul et offensa quo leuius streperent, igitur prae-  
grediens Ligus saxa et si quae uetustae radices eminebant  
laqueis uinciebat, quibus adleuati milites facilius escenderent,  
interdum timidos insolentia itineris leuare manu, ubi paulo  
asperior ascensus erat, singulos prae se inermos mittere,  
deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi, quae dubia nisui  
uidebantur potissimum temptare ac saepius eadem ascendens  
descendensque, dein statim digrediens, ceteris audaciam

addere. igitur diu multumque fatigati tandem in castellum 3  
perueniunt, desertum ab ea parte, quod omnes sicut aliis  
diebus aduersum hostis aderant. Marius ubi ex nuntiis  
quae Ligus egerat cognouit, quamquam toto die intentos  
proelio Numidas habuerat, tum uero cohortatus milites et  
ipse extra uineas egressus testudine acta succedere et simul  
hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus  
terrere. at Numidae saepe antea uineis Romanorum sub- 4  
uorsis, item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur,  
sed pro muro dies noctisque agitare, male dicere Romanis  
ac Mario uecordiam obiectare, militibus nostris Iugurthae  
seruitium minari, secundis rebus feroces esse. interim 5  
omnibus, Romanis hostibusque, proelio intentis, magna  
utrimque ui pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute  
certantibus repente a tergo signa canere, ac primo mulieres  
et pueri, qui uisum processerant, fugere, deinde uti quisque  
muro proximus erat, postremo cuncti, armati inermesque.  
quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere ac 6  
plerosque tantummodo sauciare, dein super occisorum cor-  
pora uadere, auidi gloriae certantes murum petere, neque  
quemquam omnium praeda morari. sic forte correcta Mari 7  
temeritas gloriam ex culpa inuenit.

Ceterum, dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum 95  
magno equitatu in castra uenit, quos uti ex Latio et a sociis  
cogeret Romae relictus erat. sed quoniam nos tanti uiri res 2  
admonuit, idoneum uisum est de natura cultuque eius paucis  
dicere. neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus,  
et L. Sisenna, optime et diligentissime omnium qui eas res  
dixere persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus uidetur.

Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae nobilis fuit, familia prope 3  
iam extincta maiorum ignauia, litteris Graecis atque Latinis  
iuxta, atque doctissime, eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus  
uoluptatum, sed gloriae cupidior; otio luxurioso esse, tamen

ab negotiis numquam uoluptas remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli; facundus, callidus et amicitia facilis; ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingeni incredibilis; 4 multarum rerum ac maxime pecuniae largitor. atque illi, felicissimo omnium ante ciuilem uictoriam, numquam super industriam fortuna fuit, multique dubitauere fortior an felicior esset. nam postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo pudeat an pigeat magis disserere.

96 Igitur Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam atque in castra Mari cum equitatu uenit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus 2 factus est. ad hoc milites benigne appellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, inuitus accipere, sed ea properantius quam aes mutuuum reddere, ipse ab nullo repetere, magis id laborare ut illi quam plurimi deberent; 3 ioca atque seria cum humillumis agere, in operibus, in agmine atque ad uigilias multus adesse, neque interim, quod praua ambitio solet, consulis aut cuiusquam boni famam laedere: tantummodo neque consilio neque manu priorem 4 alium pati, plerosque anteuenire. quibus rebus et artibus breui Mario militibusque carissimus factus.

97 At Iugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utilis, simul et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuntios misit: quam primum in Numidiam 2 copias adduceret: proeli faciendi tempus adesse. quem ubi cunctari accepit et dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere, rursus uti antea proximos eius donis corrupit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi aut integris suis finibus bellum 3 conpositum foret. eo praemio inlectus Bocchus cum magna multitudine Iugurtham accedit. ita amborum exercitu coniuncto Marius iam in hiberna proficiscentem uix decuma parte die reliqua inuadunt, rati noctem, quae iam aderat, et

uictis sibi munimento fore, et, si uicissent, nullo impedi-  
mento, quia locorum scientes erant: contra Romanis  
utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem fore. igitur simul 4  
consul ex multis de hostium aduentu cognouit, et ipsi hostes  
aderant, et priusquam exercitus aut instrui aut sarcinas  
colligere, denique antequam signum aut imperium ullum  
accipere quiuit, equites Mauri atque Gaetuli, non acie neque  
ullo more proeli, sed cateruatim, uti quosque fors conglo-  
bauerat, in nostros incurrunt. qui omnes, trepidi inproviso 5  
metu ac tamen uirtutis memores, aut arma capiebant aut  
cipientis alios ab hostibus defensabant: pars equos escen-  
dere, obuiam ire hostibus, pugna latrocinio magis quam  
proelio similis fieri: sine signis, sine ordinibus equites pedi-  
tesque permixti cedere alius, alius obtruncari, multi contra  
aduorsos acerrume pugnantes ab tergo circumueniri, neque  
uirtus neque arma satis tegere, quia hostes numero plures et  
undique circumfusi erant. denique Romani, ueteres nouique  
ob *ea quae supra memorauimus* aequescientes belli, si quos locus aut  
casus coniunxerat, orbis facere, atque ita ab omnibus partibus  
simul tecti et instructi hostium uim sustentabant. neque in 98  
eo tam aspero negotio Marius territus aut magis quam antea  
demisso animo fuit, sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis  
magis quam familiarissimis parauerat, uagari passim ac  
modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi con-  
fertissimi obstiterant, inuadere: manu consulere militibus,  
quoniam imperare conturbatis omnibus non poterat. iam- 2  
que dies consumptus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil remittere  
atque, uti reges praeceperant, noctem pro se rati, acrius  
instare. tum Marius ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, 3  
uti suis receptui locus esset, collis duos propinquos inter se  
occupat, quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquae  
magnus erat, alter usui opportunus, quia magna parte editus  
et praeceps pauca munimenta quæerebat. ceterum apud 4

- aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare iubet: ipse paulatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit, dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. ita reges loci difficultate coacti proelio deterrentur, neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed utroque colle multitudine circumdato effusi consedere.
- 6 dein crebris ignibus factis plerumque noctis barbari more suo laetari, exultare, strepere uocibus, et ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugerant, pro uictoribus agere. sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis facilia uisu magno-
- 99 que hortamento erant. plurimum uero Marius inperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maximum silentium haberi iubet, ne signa quidem, uti per uigilias solebant, canere. deinde, ubi lux aduentabat, defessis iam hostibus ac paulo ante somno captis, de inproviso uigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere atque portis erumpere iubet.
- 2 Mauri atque Gaetuli, ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere neque arma capere neque omnino facere aut prouidere quicquam poterant: ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subueniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, formidine terror quasi uecordia ceperat. denique omnes fusi fugatique. arma et signa militaria pleraque capta, pluresque eo proelio quam omnibus superioribus interempti. nam somno et metu insolito inpedita fuga.
- 100 Dein Marius uti coeperat in hiberna *proficiscitur*: nam propter conneatum in oppidis maritumis agere decreuerat. neque tamen uictoria socors aut insolens factus, sed pariter atque in conspectu hostium quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextumos, in sinistra parte A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortis Ligurum curabat; primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locauerat; perfugae, minime cari et regionum scientissimi,

hostium iter explorabant. simul consul quasi nullo inposito omnia prouidere, apud omnis adesse, laudare et increpare merentis: ipse armatus intentusque item milites coge-<sup>4</sup> bat. neque secus atque iter facere, castra munire, excubitu in portas cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxilios mittere, praeterea alios super uallum in munimentis locare, uigilias ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futurum quae imperauisset, quam uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labor uolentibus esset. et sane Marius illoque aliisque<sup>5</sup> temporibus Iugurthini belli pudore magis quam malo exercitum coercebat. quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant, pars a pueritia consuetam duritiam et alia, quae ceteri miseras uocant, uoluptati habuisse: nisi tamen res publica pariter ac saeuissimum imperio bene atque decore gesta. igitur quarto denique die haud longe ab oppido<sup>101</sup> Cirta undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt: qua re hostis adesse intellegitur. sed quia diuersi redeuntes alius<sup>2</sup> ab alia parte atque omnes idem significabant, consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato aduersum omnia paratus ibidem opperitur. ita<sup>3</sup> Iugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quattuor partis distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus aequae aliquos ab tergo hostibus uenturos. interim Sulla, quem primum hostes<sup>4</sup> attigerant, cohortatus suos turmatim et quam maxime confertis equis ipse alique Mauros inuadunt, ceteri in loco manentes ab iaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere et, si qui in manus uenerant, obtruncare. dum eo modo equites<sup>5</sup> proeliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux filius eius adduxerat, neque in priore pugna in itinere morati adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem inuadunt. tum Marius apud<sup>6</sup> primos agebat, quod ibi Iugurtha cum plurimis erat. dein Numida cognito Bocchi aduentu clam cum paucis ad pedites conuortit. ibi Latine (nam apud Numantiam loqui



didicerat) exclamat nostros frustra pugnare: paulo ante Marium sua manu interfectum. simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna satis in pigre occiso  
 7 pedite nostro cruenta uerat. quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei quam fide nuntii terrentur, simulque barbari animos tollere et in percussos Romanos acrius  
 8 incedere. iamque paulum a fuga aberant, cum Sulla, profligatis eis, quos aduersum ierat, rediens ab latere Mauris  
 9 incurrit. Bocchus statim auortitur. at Iugurtha, dum sustentare suos et prope iam adeptam uictoriam retinere cupit, circumuentus ab equitibus, dextra sinistra omnibus  
 10 occisis, solus inter tela hostium uitabundus erumpit. atque interim Marius fugatis equitibus adcurrit auxilio suis, quos  
 11 pelli iam acceperat. denique hostes iam undique fusi. tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi, fugere, occidi, capi, equi atque uiri adfliti, ac multi uulneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem pati, niti modo ac statim concidere, postremo omnia, qua uisus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaueribus, et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

102 Post ea loci consul haud dubie iam uictor peruenit in  
 2 oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. eo, post diem quintum quam iterum barbari male pugnauerant, legati a Boccho ueniunt, qui regis uerbis ab Mario petiuere, duos quam fidissimos ad eum mitteret: uelle de se et de populi  
 3 Romani commodo cum eis disserere. ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire iubet. qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit uerba apud regem facere, uti ingenium aut auorsum  
 4 flecterent aut cupidum pacis uehementius accenderent. itaque Sulla, cuius facundiae, non aetati a Manlio concessum, pauca uerba huiusmodi locutus.  
 5 'Rex Bocche, magna laetitia nobis est, cum te talem uirum di monuere, uti aliquando pacem quam bellum

malles, neu te optimum cum pessimo omnium Iugurtha miscendo conmaculares, simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem atque illum sceleratissimum persequi. ad hoc populo Romano iam a principio 6 inopi melius visum amicos quam servos quaerere, tutiusque rati volentibus quam coactis imperitare. tibi vero nulla 7 opportunior nostra amicitia, primum quia procul absumus, in quo offensae minimum, gratia par ac si prope adessemus, dein, quia parentis abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis neque cuiquam omnium satis fuit. atque hoc utinam a 8 principio tibi placuisset: profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala perpessus es. et quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque 9 regit, cui scilicet placuit et vim et gratiam nostram te experiri, nunc, quando per illam licet, festina atque ut coepisti perge. multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius 10 errata officiis superes. postremo hoc in pectus tuum 11 demitte, numquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum esse. nam bello quid valeat tute scis.'

Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne, simul pauca pro 12 delicto suo verba facit: se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum tutandum arma cepisse. nam Numidae partem, 13 unde vi Iugurtham expulerit, iure belli suam factam: eam vastari a Mario pati nequiusse. praeterea missis antea 14 Romam legatis repulsum ab amicitia. ceterum uetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum. dein, copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis 15 flexus, quos Iugurtha, cognita legatione Sullae et Manli metuens id quod parabatur, donis conruperat.

Marius interea, exercitu in hibernaculis composito, cum 103 expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola obsessum turrim regiam, quo Iugurtha perfugas omnis praesidium imposuerat. tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando 2

- quae sibi duobus proeliis uenerant seu admonitus ab aliis amicis quos inconruptos Iugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita et ingenia ualidissima erant. eos ad Marium, ac deinde, si placeat, Romam legatos ire iubet: agundarum rerum et quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam ipsis permittit. illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur, deinde in itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumuenti spoliatique, pauidi sine decore ad Sullam perfugiunt, quem consul in expeditionem proficiscens pro praetore reliquerat. eos ille non pro uanis hostibus, uti meriti erant, sed adcurate ac liberaliter habuit. qua re barbari et famam Romanorum auaritiae falsam et Sullam ob munificentiam in sese amicum rati. nam etiam tum largitio multis ignota erat: munificus nemo putabatur nisi pariter uolens, dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt, simul ab eo petunt uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit, copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui et alia, quae aut utilia aut beniuolentiae esse credebant, oratione extollunt. dein, Sulla omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum uerba facerent, circiter dies quadraginta ibidem opperiuntur.
- 104 Marius postquam confecto quo intenderat negotio Cirtam rediit et de aduentu legatorum certior factus est, illosque et Sullam [ab Tucca] uenire iubet, item L. Bellienum praetorem Utica, praeterea omnis undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. in quis, legatis potestas Romam eundi fieret ab consule, interea indutiae postulabantur. ea Sullae et plerisque placuere; pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari rerum humanarum, quae fluxae et mobiles semper in aduersa mutantur. ceterum Mauri, impetratis omnibus rebus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octauio Rusone, qui quaestor stipendium in Africam portauerat,

duo ad regem redeunt. ex his Bocchus cum cetera, tum maxime benignitatem et studium Sullae lubens accepit. Romaeque legatis eius, postquam errasse regem et Iugurthae 4 scelere lapsum deprecati sunt, amicitiam et foedus petentibus hoc modo respondetur: 'senatus et populus Romanus 5 benefici et iniuriae memor esse solet. ceterum Boccho, quoniam paenitet, delicti gratiam facit: foedus et amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit.'

Quis rebus cognitis Bocchus per litteras a Mario petiuit 105 uti Sullam ad se mitteret, cuius arbitrato communibus negotiis consuleretur. is missus cum praesidio equitum atque 2 funditorum Balearium. praeterea iere sagittarii et cohors Paeligna cum uelitaribus armis, itineris properandi causa, neque his secus atque aliis armis aduersum tela hostium, quod ea leuia sunt, muniti. sed in itinere quinto denique 3 die Volux filius Bocchi repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit, qui temere et effuse euntes Sullae aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliore uero et hostilem metum efficiebant. igitur se quisque 4 expedire, arma atque tela temptare intendere: timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe uictoribus et aduersum eos quos saepe uicerant. interim equites exploratum prae- 5 missi rem, uti erat, quietam nuntiant. Volux adueniens 106 quaestorem appellat dicitque se a patre Boccho obuiam illis, simul et praesidio missum. deinde eum et proximum diem sine metu coniuncti eunt. post, ubi castra locata et 2 diei uesper erat, repente Maurus incerto uultu pauens ad Sullam adcurrit dicitque sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum Iugurtham haud procul abesse, simul uti noctu clam secum profugeret rogat atque hortatur. ille animo feroci negat se 3 totiens fusum Numidam pertimescere: uirtuti suorum satis credere; etiamsi certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius quam, proditis quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan

- 4 post paulo morbo interiturae uitae parceret. ceterum ab  
eodem monitus uti noctu proficisceretur, consilium ad-  
probat ac statim milites cenatos esse, in castris ignis quam  
creberrimos fieri, dein prima uigilia silentio egredi iubet.  
5 iamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus Sulla pariter cum  
ortu solis castra metabatur, cum equites Mauri nuntiant  
Iugurtham circiter duum milium interuallo ante eos con-  
6 sedisse. quod postquam auditum est, tum uero ingens  
metus nostros inuadit: credere se proditos a Voluce et insi-  
diis circumuentos. ac fuere qui dicerent manu uindicandum,  
neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.  
107 at Sulla, quamquam eadem existimabat, tamen ab iniuria  
Maurum prohibet, suos hortatur uti fortem animum gere-  
rent: saepe antea a paucis strenuis aduersum multitudinem  
bene pugnatum: quanto sibi in proelio minus pepercissent,  
tanto tutiores fore, nec quemquam decere, qui manus  
armauerit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maxumo  
2 metu nudum et caecum corpus ad hostis uortere. dein  
Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Iouem maximum ob-  
testatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae Bocchi testis adesset, ex  
3 castris abire iubet. ille lacrumans orare ne ea crederet:  
nihil dolo factum, ac magis calliditate Iugurthae, cui  
4 uidelicet speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. ceterum,  
quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes  
opesque eius ex patre suo penderent, credere illum nihil  
5 palam ausurum, cum ipse filius testis adesset: qua re op-  
timum factu uideri per media eius castra palam transire:  
sese, uel praemissis uel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum  
6 Sulla iturum. ea res uti in tali negotio probata: ac statim  
profecti, quia de inproviso acciderant, dubio atque haesi-  
7 tante Iugurtha incolumes transeunt. deinde paucis diebus  
quo ire intenderant peruentum est.
- 108 Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam Aspar nomine multum

et familiariter agebat, praemissus ab Iugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia; praeterea Dabar Massugrae filius, ex gente Masinissae, ceterum materno genere inpar (nam pater eius ex concubina ortus erat), Mauro ob ingeni multa bona carus acceptusque. quem Bocchus fidum esse Romanis multis ante tempestatibus expertus ilico ad Sullam nuntiatum mittit, paratum sese facere quae populus Romanus uellet, conloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse deligeret, neu Iugurthae legatum pertimesceret: consulto sese omnia cum illo integra habere, quo res communis licentius gereretur: nam ab insidiis eius aliter caueri nequiuisset. sed ego conperior Bocchum magis Punica fide quam ob ea, quae praedicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis attinuisse, multumque cum animo suo uoluere solitum, Iugurtham Romanis an illi Sullam traderet: lubidinem aduersum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse. igitur Sulla respondit pauca se coram Aspare locuturum, cetera occulte nullo aut quam paucissimis praesentibus; simul edocet quae sibi responderentur. postquam sicuti uoluerat congressi, dicit se missum a consule uenisse quaesitum ab eo, pacem an bellum agitaturus foret. tum rex, uti praeceptum fuerat, post diem decimum redire iubet, ac nihil etiam nunc decreuisse, sed illo die responsurum. deinde ambo in sua castra digressi. sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte accersitur. ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur, praeterea Dabar internuntius, sanctus uir et ex sententia ambobus. ac statim sic rex incipit.

‘Numquam ego ratus sum fore uti, rex maxumus in hac terra et omnium quos noui, priuato homini gratiam deberem. et mehercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum multis orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigus.

3 id inminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor.  
 fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando pretium tuae amicitiae,  
 4 qua apud meum animum nihil carius habeo. id adeo  
 experiri licet: arma, uiros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid  
 animo lubet sume, utere, et, quoad uiues, numquam tibi  
 redditam gratiam putaueris: semper apud me integra  
 5 erit; denique nihil me sciente frustra uoles. nam, ut  
 ego aestumo, regem armis quam munificentia uinci minus  
 6 flagitiosum est. ceterum de re publica uostra, cuius  
 curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. bellum ego populo  
 Romano neque feci neque factum umquam uolui, at finis  
 7 meos aduersum armatos armis tutatus sum. id omitto,  
 quando uobis ita placet. gerite quod uoltis cum Iugurtha  
 8 bellum. ego flumen Muluccham, quod inter me et Micip-  
 sam fuit, non egrediar, neque id intrare Iugurtham sinam.  
 praeterea siquid meque uobisque dignum petiueris, haud  
 repulsus abibis.'

111 Ad ea Sulla pro se breuiter et modice, de pace et com-  
 munibus rebus multis disseruit. denique regi patefecit,  
 quod polliceretur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam  
 armis amplius ualuissent, non in gratiam habituros: faci-  
 undum ei aliquid, quod illorum magis quam sua retulisse  
 uideretur. id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam copiam  
 Iugurthae haberet; quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore ut  
 illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, foedus, Numidiae  
 2 partem, quam nunc peteret, tum ultro aduenturam. rex  
 primo negitare: cognationem, adfinitatem, praeterea foedus  
 interuenisse. ad hoc metuere ne fluxa fide usus popularium  
 animos auorteret, quis et Iugurtha carus et Romani inuisi  
 3 erant. denique saepius fatigatus lenitur et ex uoluntate  
 4 Sullae omnia se facturum promittit: ceterum ad simu-  
 landam pacem, cuius Numida defessus bello audis-  
 sumus erat, quae utilia uisa constituunt. ita composito dolo

digrediuntur. at rex postero die Asparem Iugurthae lega- 112  
tum appellat dicitque sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum  
posse condicionibus bellum poni : quam ob rem regis sui  
sententiam exquireret. ille laetus in castra Iugurthae 2  
proficiscitur. deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus properato  
itinere post diem octauum redit ad Bocchum et ei nuntiat  
Iugurtham cupere omnia quae imperarentur facere, sed  
Mario parum confidere : saepe antea cum imperatoribus  
Romanis pacem conuentam frustra fuisse. ceterum Boc- 3  
chus si ambobus consultum et ratam pacem uellet, daret  
operam ut una ab omnibus quasi de pace in colloquium  
ueniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet : cum talem uirum in  
potestatem habuisset, tum fore uti iussu senatus aut populi  
foedus fieret, neque hominem nobilem non sua ignauia sed  
ob rem publicam in hostium potestate relictum iri. haec 113  
Maurus secum ipse diu uoluens tandem promisit, ceterum  
dolo an uere cunctatus parum comperimus. sed plerumque  
regiae uoluntates ut uehementes sic mobiles, saepe ipsae  
sibi aduersae. postea tempore et loco constituto in 2  
colloquium uti de pace ueniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo,  
modo Iugurthae legatum appellare, benigne habere, idem  
ambobus polliceri. illi pariter laeti ac spei bonae pleni  
esse. sed nocte ea, quae proxuma fuit ante diem colloquio 3  
decretum, Maurus, adhibitis amicis ac statim inmutata  
uoluntate remotis, dicitur secum ipse multum agitauiſſe,  
uultu et oculis pariter atque animo uarius : quae scilicet  
tacente ipso occulta pectoris patefecisse. tamen postremo 4  
Sullam accersi iubet, et ex illius sententia Numidae insidias  
tendit. deinde ubi dies aduenit, et ei nuntiatum est 5  
Iugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et  
quaestore nostro quasi obuius honoris causa procedit in  
tumulum facillumum uisu insidiantibus. eodem Numida 6  
cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis, uti dictum erat,



adcedit, ac statim signo dato undique simul ex insidiis  
7 inuaditur. ceteri obruncati: Iugurtha Sullae uinctus traditur et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

- 114 Per idem tempus aduersum Gallos ab ducibus nostris  
Q. Caepione et Cn. Manlio male pugnatum. quo metu  
2 Italia omnis contremuit. illique et usque ad nostram  
memoriam Romani sic habuere: alia omnia uirtuti suae  
prona esse, cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certari.  
3 sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum et Iugurtham  
Romam uinctum adduci nuntiatum est, Marius consul  
absens factus est, et ei decreta prouincia Gallia, isque  
4 calendis Ianuariis magna gloria consul triumphauit. et ea  
tempestate spes atque opes ciuitatis in illo sitae.

## NOTES.

R. = Roby's Latin Grammar.

## CHAPTER I.

- 1 **æui brevis**] gen. of quality. This, or the abl., S. uses freely, for variety, along with an adj. (or a series of them). Cp. 64. 5 *homo inanis et regiae superbiae*; for abl. 5. 1, 20. 2, 46. 3, 63. 7, 65. 1, 66. 2, 78. 2, 85. 39.  
**regatur**] subj. of virtual Or. Obl. 'is ruled, as they say.' R. 1744.
- 2 **contra**] qualifies the whole sentence, not *reputando* (which almost = *si reputes*: cp. 81. 4).  
**uim...tempus**] refer respectively to *inbecilla*—*æui brevis*.
- 3 **pollens potensque**] The Romans were fond of joining synonymous expressions, esp. where there was similarity of sound. Cp. 41. 9 *sine modo modestiaque*.  
**neque fortuna eget**] refutes *forte regatur* above. Men's natural powers do not require the aid of good Fortune, for Fortune cannot give or take away good qualities.  
**aliasque**] S. often puts *que* with the last word only of an enumeration, if that word be *alius* or *ceterus*: cp. 3. 2, 19. 1, 36. 1 etc., and 34. 1, 43. 3, 64. 1, 85. 41, 87. 2 where *atque* and *et* are similarly used.  
**artis**] 'qualities,' as often in S.
- 4 **ad inertiam** etc.] 'after a brief enjoyment of its fatal propensity it has sunk into a state of lethargy and sensual pleasure.' *Pessum* seems to be acc. of a noun (not found in other forms) meaning 'bottom' 'ground' (✓ *ped*, seen in *pes*): *pessum ire* = 'go to the bottom,' 'sink' (intr.); *p. dare*, 'send to the bottom,' 'sink' (tr.). Cp. 42. 4, and *uenum dare*, *uenum ire* (28. 1, 96. 6).  
**diffuxere**] 'have been wasted'—with the idea of decay in the case of *uires*, *ingenium*.  
**auctores**] seems to stand for *a. culpa*, 'those responsible for the failure,' as in Liu. 45. 10. 12 *culpam in auctores uerterat*, 'bring the blame home to those to whom it belonged.' Here tr. 'those responsible

shift the blame from themselves (*suam*: 'which really belongs to them') to their task.' S. is protesting against the excuse *ars longa, uita brevis*.

5 **quanto**] = *quantum est studium quo*.

**multum**] qualifies *periculosa*.

**neque** etc.] The apodosis begins here. *Neque...et* is common enough in Latin: cp. 20. 5, 31. 16, 49. 5 etc. In Engl. we must be content to tr. *neque* as though it were simply *non*.

**magis quam**] 'so much as': cp. 36. 3.

**pro**] 'instead of.'

#### CHAPTER II.

1 **anima**] generally = the vital principle, as e.g. where Juvenal (15. 147 sqq.) says the Creator gave to animals *tantum animas, nobis animum quoque*. However here it clearly = *animo* of Cat. 1. 2 *nostra omnis uis in animo et corpore sita est*.

**corporis alia** etc.] each of them takes after one of the two: some after the body, some after the mind.

**secuntur**] 'fall to' 'belong to,' as in e.g. Liu. 33. 13. 10 *ut belli praeda Romanos sequeretur*.

2 **praeclara facies** etc.] Ancient philosophers (e.g. Plato) divided 'things good' into (1) goods of the mind, (2) goods of the body and (3) property and the like. Here, as often, (2) and (3) are reckoned together, as *diuitiae* shews: cp. § 3, *corporis et fortunae bonorum*.

**ad hoc**] a favourite expression of S.'s for 'moreover.'

**huiuscemodi**] *-ce* is a demonstrative particle sometimes added to those forms of *ille* and *iste* which end in *s*. In old Latin (e.g. Plautus) we find it, with the *e* dropped, added to the other forms: cp. *illunc* (acc.), *illie* (dat.). *Ecce* probably shews the same particle (*en-ce*). Cp. e.g.

4. 8, 5. 3, 9. 4.

**facinora**] used simply as = 'deed' and requiring a defining adj.: so e.g. 5. 4, 30. 3.

3 **agit**] governs *cuncta*, 'guides.' **habet**, 'sways.'

**neque**] 'without being': cp. 11. 9.

4 **prauitas**] 'perversity.'

#### CHAPTER III.

1 **eis**] *artibus animi*.

**imperia**] *Imperium* denotes the power of the *higher* magistrates (dictator, consul, praetor) which manifested itself most clearly in military duties. So *magistratus* here practically acquires the meaning of 'civil duties.' Cp. *imperia et honores* 4. 7.

**rerum publicarum**] 'politics.'

**hac tempestate**] Intr. p. ix.

**uirtuti**] 'merit.' **honos**, 'the honours of office.' S. is really playing on the two meanings of the word (1) 'magistracy,' (2) 'honour': hence *honesti* below.

**quibus...fuit**] 'who have got it.'

- 2 **nam** etc.] S. has just said magistrates nowadays are not safe or honoured because of their position. Now he gives the proofs. If they use *force*, that is tyranny, and the natural end will be a tyrant's fate—even if their aims are good. If they don't use force, and keep to constitutional means they will find themselves powerless and only get unpopular: only a fool would do this (and a fool is not honoured: see on § 3).

**quidem**] is the Greek *μὲν*, 'on the one hand,' and is answered by *autem* below.

**parentes**] doubtless means 'one's parents'; one ought not to use violence to one's country, any more than one should to them. [This is made practically certain by the 7th letter of Plato which S. is using here: *πατέρα...ἢ μητέρα οὐχ ὅσιον προσβιάζεσθαι.*]

**possis**] As *quamquam* takes the ind., the subjunctive here cannot be dependent on it, but is potential. Cp. 31. 28 n. and R. 1546. Tr. 'though, it is true, one might be able to.'

**inportunum**] 'oppressive,' 'the act of a tyrant.' The adj. is regularly used of tyrants and their ways: cp. e.g. Cic. Rep. 1. 33, Verr. II. 5. 40. 103, Liu. 29. 17. 20.

**mutationes**] 'attempts to alter.'

**portendant**] 'are the prelude to, signal for.'

- 3 **frustra** etc.] Is S. thinking of such people as Caesar's colleague Bibulus and Cato?

**dementiae**] The thought is, 'and one who is guilty of folly cannot be regarded as *honestus*.' Cp. 107. 1 where he translates the 'it is foolish' of his Greek original by *nec decere*.

- 4 **nisi forte** etc.] The protasis suppressed is: 'one of these two fates is necessary': cp. 31. 20. S. means 'Of course there is a third possibility: one can serve as a ladder for others (such as Pompey) to climb by.'

**inhonesta et pernicioſa**] To use force might be fatal, to try to effect reforms constitutionally brought contempt. This third method is open to *both* objections.

**paucorum**] the oligarchs, the *nobilitas*: cp. 31. 2 and 8. 1 n.

**gratificari**] 'sacrifice.' For the infinitive after *lubido tenet*, on the analogy of *lubet* etc., cp. R. 1344 (end).

## CHAPTER IV.

- 1 **memoria]** 'recording.'
- 2 **simul ne]** Observe how S. secures variety: he has two reasons for omitting: one is introduced by *quia*, the other by *ne*: cp. 25. 5, where the reasons are given by a *quod* clause and a participle.  
**per insolentiam]** goes with *extollere*.  
**memet]** *Met* is a pronominal suffix added to *all* cases of the substantive pronouns (*tutemet* is the form for the 2nd sing.: in 85. 35. S. contents himself with *tute*) and to the abl. sing. and acc. pl. of the adjective pronouns. R. 389.
- 3 **atque]** and there will be people ready to believe this.  
**certe quibus]** as if *nonnulli imponent* preceded, 'at least, those who think...will do so.'  
**salutare plebem et conuiuiis gratiam quaerere]** For the former purpose the candidate was accompanied in his walks abroad by the *nomenclator* who pointed out to him those whom it was important he should greet: cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 6. 49 sqq. As regards the 'free meals' the law seems to have been very vague. Apparently if a man confined them to the members of his own tribe no one would complain—but few did thus limit themselves. Cicero's client Murena was charged with having gone too far herein (*ad prandium uulgo uocati*), and Cicero defends the practice as indispensable: *nec plebi eripiendi fructus isti sunt ludorum, gladiatorum, conuiuiorum...nec candidatis ista benignitas adimenda est, quae liberalitatem magis significat quam largitionem* (Mur. 77). Cp. also Quint. Cic. de pet. cons. 11. 44, Hor. Ep. 1. 19. 37—8.
- 4 **qui]** refers to all who call his work *inertia*.  
**ego...magistratus adeptus sim]** Intr. pp. ix, x.  
**genera hominum]** Julius Caesar increased the numbers of the senate, without, apparently, keeping up its character. Some of the new members were *peregrini* (a skit of the day suggested that everyone should refuse to guide them to the senate house and so prevent their sitting there!) and some, as Mommsen says, 'dubious and plebeian personages.' Antonius seems to have gone still further in this direction.
- 5 **Q. Maxumum]** the Q. Fabius Maximus of the 2nd Punic war. *P. Scipio* will be his younger contemporary, who ended that war. For both, see 5. 4<sup>n</sup>.  
**imagines]** waxen masks representing deceased members of the house who had held a curule (i.e. higher) magistracy. At funerals they were worn by actors who marched in the processions. They were kept

in the *atrium*: whether they were there affixed to busts, or even full figure statuettes is quite doubtful. *Figura* in § 6 might suggest the latter, but may only mean 'shape given to the wax.'

6 **scilicet**] introduces S.'s comment. It takes acc. and inf. in the older writers (cp. 113. 3) by virtue of its literal meaning, *scire licet*, 'you must know.'

7 **his moribus**] 'in the present state of our national character,' or 'of society.'

**non**] 'instead of.'

**homines noui**] men who were the first of their family to hold curule office. Therewith their family entered the *nobilitas* and shared the advantage which all *nobiles* enjoyed when seeking office. For, although it was *legal* for any Roman to hold the higher magistracies, in practice the aristocracy made it extremely difficult for any one outside their pale to do so. Cp. what is said by S. in 63. 6 and 7.

**anteuenire**] 'outdo.'

**latrocinia**] 'open robbery.'

**imperia et honores**] 3. 1 n.

8 **praetura et consulatus**] the two highest ordinary magistracies. In Sallust's time the praetors' duties were mainly judicial. Caesar had raised their number from 8 successively to 10, 14 and 16.

**perinde habeantur** etc.] lit. 'are possessed according as is the character,' and tr. freely 'as though it did not depend on the character... whether the possession of them is an honour or no.' Cp. 8. 2 *periculose emi*, 'the purchase was dangerous.' For the thought cp. 31. 10.

**sustinent**] the offices so far from bringing distinction require to be 'lived up to,' 'supported.'

9 **altius**] a metaphor from sailing, 'too far' out to sea.

**dum me...piget**] 'in my weariness': cp. 42. 4.

#### CHAPTER V.

1 **uaria uictoria**] 1. 1 n.

2 **diuina et humana cuncta**] simply means 'absolutely all that exists,' a strengthened *cuncta*. Cp. 31. 9 and 20, the similar use of *dei atque homines* and Liu. 2. 5. 7 *patres, plebem, quidquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset*.

**permiscuit**] 'brought confusion into': cp. 12. 5, 41. 10.

**studiis**] governed by *finem faceret*: cp. 10. 3.

3 **pauca supra repetam**] lit. 'go back to a few points earlier,' i.e. 'belonging to an earlier period.'

- 4 **bello Punico secundo**] the great war of 218—202 in which Hannibal invaded Italy but, after gaining several victories (notably the decisive one of Cannae in 216), was foiled by the evasive tactics of Q. Fabius Maximus and, after the defeat of his brother who was bringing reinforcements (in 207), was forced by Scipio's invasion of Africa to return thither. Here the decisive battle of Zama ended the war in Rome's favour.

**post**] 'since the beginning of....' The *magnitudo* dates from 275 when the invader Pyrrhus was finally repulsed at Beneventum.

**Masinissa**] fought for Carthage in Spain, but after a great victory of Scipio's made overtures to him. On his return to Africa he was attacked by his old neighbour and rival Syphax and the Carthaginians, but Scipio's invasion of the country saved him. He commanded the right wing at Zama.

**Africano**] is really in apposition to *cui*: cp. 79. 5 and R. 1059.

**Syphace**] see above.

**magnum atque late...ualuit**] It is, I think, love of variety that has led S. to combine adj. and adv. Take *magnum* predicatively, and, tr. 'its power was the power of a great kingdom and reached far.'

**manu**] = *ui*.

- 5 **sed**] is often a mere connecting particle in S. [= *δε*], to be rendered 'now,' or 'and': cp. 17. 3, 28. 6, 40. 5, 48. 3, 63. 3 (where it introduces a digression). 'Now his power (and so his friendly policy) was ended only by death.' [If an-adversative force, for *sed* is thought necessary, one may take it as marking the transition to circumstances less favourable to peaceful relations with Rome.]

- 6 **optinuit**, 'governed'; cp. 16. 2.

- 7 **quem**] refers to Iugurtha. **priuatum**: i.e. without any claim to the throne.

**cultu**] manner of life, education: 75. 1, 95. 2.

**habuit**] 'kept,' 'had him brought up.'

#### CHAPTER VI.

- 1 **decora facie**] is probably abl. of quality: cp. 1. 1 n.

**luxu**] the old form of the dative. [Almost all our good MSS. have *luxui*, but those of two late writers who cite this passage have preserved the old form.]

- 2 **paruis liberis**] abl. absolute, parallel to *exacta sua aetate*.

**negotio**] The word is often used by S. as equivalent to *res*, with, however, the idea of difficulty, or, as here, danger.

cum animo suo] the mind being looked on as an adviser. Cp. the same phrase 108. 3, *c. a. habere* (11. 8), *reputare* (13. 5, 70. 6, 85. 10), *trahere* (93. 1).

- 3 **natura]** i.e. the *thought* that men are naturally desirous. Cp. 31. 1 *ius nullum*, 91. 5 *pars civium extra moenia*: so often the acc. and inf., as subject to a verb; cp. 28. 1.

**opportunitas suae...aetatis]** 'the chance offered by his age,' a subjective genitive. *Quae* of course refers to *opp.* alone, *not* to *opp. aetatis*: 'and a favourable chance...'

**mediocris]** almost 'unambitious': cp. 8. 1, 89. 2.

**transuorsos agit]** lit. 'drives them crosswise,' i.e. off the road, astray. So Cato has *transuorsum trudere a recte consulendo atque intelligendo* of the effect upon men of their delight at success. Perhaps S. adapted the phrase from him (see Intr. p. xvi<sup>5</sup>): he has it again at 14. 20: otherwise Seneca is the only author in whom this metaphorical sense of *transuorsus* is at all common.

**interfecisset]** the mood is due to that of *oriretur*: for the tense see on 8. 1.

## CHAPTER VII.

- 1 **per uim...insidiis]** variation, Intr. p. xix.  
**quod...militaris]** of course explains *statuit obiectare periculis*.  
**gloriae]** For this objective gen., depending on an adj. or participle, cp. *frugum fertilis* 17. 5, *patiens laborum* ib. 6, R. 1314.
- 2 **bello Numantino]** Numantia was the headquarters of the Celtiberi in their war with Rome about 153 B.C. It stood a siege from 141—133: owing to the weak discipline of the Roman army and the incapacity of its generals the inhabitants were able to defy the besiegers and inflict serious blows upon them until the younger Scipio was sent out in 134. He quickly remedied the state of the army and reduced the city in the following year.
- 4 **ut erat etc.]** 'with his industry and vigour.' There are at least three good ways of turning into Latin such a sentence as, 'you with your usual kindness (will do this or the like)': (1) *pro tua benevolentia*, (2) *qua (or quanta) tu es benevolentia*, (3) *ut es benevolus*.  
**modestissime,** 'implicitly,' 'absolutely.' *Modestia*, the opposite of *licentia*, is just the word for that obedience to discipline which Scipio made it his object to restore in the army: so 44. 1, 92. 2 *modesto imperio*.
- 5 **in primis]** 'especially,' is very rarely used with the superlative.  
**ex providentia timorem]** 'fear, the natural outcome of seeing clearly



what is coming': for *ex*, cp. 39. 2, 40. 5. For the thought, cp. Thucydides (2. 40) 'Other people get their courage from ignorance: reflection brings hesitation.'

6 *erat*] R. 1711. S. always has the ind. after *quippe qui*, but he should not be imitated herein.

7 *quis*] = *quibus*: cp. 13. 6, 14. 10, etc.

## CHAPTER VIII.

1 *noui*] 4. 7.

*factiosi*] influential by means of the *factio* or oligarchical clique, as in 15. 4. What *factio* means to S., he shews in 31. 15 where he says that to be united by sharing the same desires, hatreds and fears is *inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio*. Cp. 29. 2, 31. 4 (where *factionis potentiae* = *potentiae paucorum* of 3. 4) and 41. 6 (where it is opposed to *uis soluta atque dispersa*).

*socios*] the provincials, whom the Romans honoured with this empty title in preference to that of 'subjects': cp. 88. 3.

*mediocrem*] 6. 3.

*si...occidisset*] a very important use of the tense. Their *words* were *si occiderit* etc., 'if he dies.' In passing into Or. Obl. this subordinate clause necessarily becomes subjunctive: the *tense* depends on that of the governing verb, a primary requiring perf. subj., a secondary (as here *pollicitando accendebant*), the plpf. The same rule applies to clauses 'attracted' into the subjunctive. So 10. 1, 25. 7, 28. 4, 64. 3, 65. 3 (two) etc., and cp. 6. 3 above. Similarly the future becomes pres. or impf. subj.: 33. 3, 38. 9, 77. 1, 103. 3.

*imperi*] A gen. usually follows *potior* in S., though, except in the phrase *rerum potiri*, the construction is rare elsewhere. Cp. 13. 5 and especially 74. 3.

*in ipso* etc.] From *pollicitando* is evolved a simple verb of saying. This is a very common idiom in S. and Livy: cp. e.g. 12. 3 (where the acc. and inf. depends on *promissis onerat impellitque*), 14. 20 (after *ambire, fatigare*), 54. 1 (after *hortor*, and often after this verb or *oro*: 56. 4, 77. 1; cp. after *peto* 102. 2), 79. 8 (after *optionem faciunt*), 109. 3 (after *iubet*). Less remarkable is the equally common use of such verbs as *moneo, suadeo*, first, as verbs of advising, with *ut* and the subj., then, as verbs of saying, with acc. and inf.: see for *moneo* § 2 below (cp. 49. 2), *suadeo* 26. 1, *instituo* 14. 18, *statuo* 88. 4.

2 *pro contione*] 'before the assembled army.'

*praetorium*] the general's tent. *Praetor* (*prae-itor*) was originally

applied to the general of an army. Though it had lost this meaning in ordinary parlance (4. 8 n.), the military vocabulary preserved traces thereof in this word *praetorium* and in the *cohors praetoria* or general's bodyguard (Intr. p. xxvii).

**publice...priuatim**] 'by services to the state rather than to individuals.' So below, *pauci* and *multi*.

**quibus**] from *quis* 'any one.'

**periculose...emi**] see § 1 above for the construction of this acc. and inf.

**permanere...in suis artibus**] 'abide by, keep to his present ways': cp. *in bonis artibus retinebat* 41. 2.

**ultro**] 'unsought.' The word means that something more than could be expected happens: so here, not only will he get it, but it will come to him. Cp. 15. 1: 'so far from Adherbal's being injured he is the aggressor,' where 'actually' will do, as often. See 43. 4 and esp. 110. 2, 111. 1.

## CHAPTER IX.

1 **redderet**] observe the final subj.

2 **idem**] is masc. and simply means Iugurtha: cp. 31. 12. With *sit* repeat *carus*: tr. 'and that he may also be dear to....'

**pro**] 'as befits': cp. 11. 1, 14. 16 etc. and the use of it in 7. 4 n. (first example).

**en**] as if he were handing Iug. back to him. Cp. Verg. Ecl. 6. 69 *hos tibi dant calamos, en, accipe, Musae*.

**suo**] for *eius*, because Iugurtha is foremost in Scipio's mind: as if he had said *mihi crede, uir est dignus*, etc.: cp. 54. 7, 73. 4.

3 **gratia**] that is, with the Romans.

**uincere**] The inf. after *aggredi* is found even in Cicero: cp. 21. 3, 75. 2.

**statim**] as Numantia fell in 133 and Iugurtha presumably returned at once, certainly implies 'soon after 133.' Yet in 11. 6 Hiempsal, speaking just after Micipsa's death, which took place in 118, says the *adoptatio* had taken place 'within the last 3 years,' i.e. some time in the period 121—118. S. is notoriously careless about these matters (Intr. pp. xiv, xv) and doubtless did not think the matter out. Observe too that we pass from Iugurtha's return to Micipsa's death by means of the three expressions: (1) *statim* § 3, (2) *paucos post annos* § 4 and (3) *paucis post diebus* 11. 2, and yet the period is one of 15 years!

## CHAPTER X.

- 1 **in regnum...accepi]** recognised as a successor: cp. 11. 6, 22. 2. Of course he had not done so until Iug. was grown up (9. 3), but pretends that it had been his intention all along (cp. 5. 7).  
**genuissem]** 8. 1 n.: he thought '*si genuero.*'  
**ob beneficia]** is an explanatory addition, applying only to *tibi* (not to *liberis*) *carum fore*. Tr. 'in your case, because of the kindnesses....'  
**falsum...habuit]** Generally where *habeo* and a past participle passive are conjoined, the verb means 'keep' or 'consider' or 'get': cp. the phrase *compertum habere* and in Cicero *inclusum habere*, *deportatas habere*. Here however, as in one or two other passages, it is difficult to see wherein the expr. differs from *fecellit*.
- 2 **meque regnumque]** Intr. p. xvii: outside S. *que...que...* is confined to poetry. Cp. 21. 4, 79. 9, 85. 47, 100. 5, 110. 8, and 26. 1 n.  
**in Hispania]** Masinissa had fought there: 5. 4 n.  
**inuidiam uicisti]** 6. 1 *cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse*.
- 3 **dexteram]** the right hand was given in bargains etc. as a pledge of truth and is often appealed to, as the outward symbol of a man's honour. Of course it is Iugurtha's hand.  
**regni fidem]** is a very obscure phrase, meaning, I think, 'the loyalty due to the kingdom' of which the speaker had given him a share. Cp. 24. 10 where *fides amicitiae* is 'loyalty due to friendship.'  
**propinqui]** being his cousins.
- 4 **parare]** 'buy,' a not uncommon meaning of the word, preserved in the modern Italian *comprare* (*comparare*): cp. 31. 11, 33. 2, 35. 4.  
**queas]** potential subj.: cp. 60. 4 and R. 1544.
- 5 **hostis]** a strong word intentionally substituted for *inimicus*.
- 6 **equidem]** here simply an emphatic particle, as often in S. (e.g. 85. 26). He has however the other use (= *ego quidem*).
- 7 **ante]** 'more than,' 'rather than,' lit. 'sooner than.' *Ante aliquem esse*, 'to surpass,' is not uncommon, but I do not know of any example quite like this.  
**qui...es]** Most Latin writers would put *sis* (after *qui* causal) but S. affects the indicative (Intr. p. xvii).  
**opulentior est]** 'has more resources.'
- 8 **liberos]** As M. had adopted only one son, S. is sacrificing a little to his desire for brevity.

## CHAPTER XI.

- 1 pro] 'as befitted,' 9. 2 n.
- 2 paucis post diebus] 9. 3 n.  
illi] is dative.  
iusta] regularly used of the funeral rites and dues.  
fecerant] Do not imitate this use of plpf. after *postquam*, which, in S. as in other writers, generally takes the perfect: cp. however 44. 4, 79. 4 etc.  
reguli] The diminutive, as each had only a share in the *regnum*.
- 3 despiciens] with *iam antea* clearly refers to the past: *qui despiciebat* or *despexerat* would be 'safer' Latin. However the contempt still existed, so one may cp. the use of a present with *iamdudum*. *Inferentem* in 15. 1 is bolder still: see there.  
adsedit] 'took his seat,' from *adsidere*: cp. 16. 5 n.  
apud Numidas] and among the Romans too, though one would certainly infer the opposite from S.'s words.  
honori ducitur] *Habere, dare, ducere* are the only verbs that are used with any frequency with predicative datives, which in the vast majority of cases go with *esse*.
- 4 concederet] 'make way for,' i.e. 'yield in consideration of': cp. 102. 4 *cuius facundiae, non aetati concessum*.  
transductus] 'induced to move.'
- 5 iacit] 'lets fall the remark,' taking the acc. and inf.  
quinquenni] sc. *proximi*, 'of the last 5 years.'
- 6 nam etc.] is still acc. and inf., so tr. 'for, he said.' For the statement see 9. 39.
- 7 uerbum] 'expression': a meaning almost confined to the comic writers: *uox* is the regular word.  
ratus erat] i.e. at the time, as opposed to later on, when the truth was seen. As however the Latin for 'I should not have thought' is *non putaram* (i.e. 'I never had thought') it is possible the meaning here is 'than any one would have expected.'  
descendit] Cp. 102. 11 *hoc in pectus tuum demitte*.
- 8 moliri, parare, atque...habere] S. does not keep very strictly to the rule observed by the majority of Latin writers according to which in enumerations a connecting particle must not be put with the last member only. S.'s way of joining two words together without any

connecting particle (see on 14. 11) often makes it possible that he regards two of the words as forming a single expression (as here *moliri parare*: cp. 58. 3 n.). But in other cases this explanation is difficult, or impossible: cp. 14. 7, 11, 21, 23; 18. 4; 77. 3; 85. 45; 96. 3. See also on 1. 3 (*aliasque*) and 51. 1.

9 **neque lenitur**] 'without...being mollified': cp. 2. 3 n.

## CHAPTER XII.

2 **maturius**] agrees with *tempus*.

**alius alio**] In this constr. (cp. 14. 15, 46. 4, 49. 4, 50. 5 etc.) the pair of words must always be repeated in the mind. Thus, the full sense here is *alius alio concessit, alius alio*, 'one went off one way, another went off another way,' i.e. they went off in different directions.

3 **proximus lictor**] stands here causally = *quod p. l. erat*. S. is fond of such appositional clauses: cp. 50. 6, and for concessive ones 35. 7, 84. 1. The Roman magistrate was preceded in public by his lictors, marching in single file. The last of these seems to have occupied a superior position to the others: orders would be given to him first and he would naturally be on more intimate terms with the magistrate. Probably the post was often held by one of the latter's poorer *clientes*. Whether such a custom, or indeed the use of lictors at all, existed in Numidia is another matter. Cp. 49. 2 where S. speaks of the *turmae* and *manipuli* (distinctly Roman divisions) of Jug.'s army, and the use of *legio* = 'army' in 79. 4 n.

**sua uisens**] 'to look after his belongings.' *Visurus* was not necessary, as *uisere* means 'go to see.'

**referebantur**] impf. of frequency—every evening.

**ceterum etc.**] From *promissis onerat* we evolve a verb of saying, to govern this acc. and inf.: see 8. 1 n.

5 **diuorsi**] 'dividing,' as in 50. 5, 55. 7, 87. 4: cp. also 46. 4 *alium ab alio diuorsos*.

**miscere**] 5. 2.

**cum...reperitur**] In sentences of this kind, where *cum* introduces what is really the main clause, it regularly takes the indicative: R. 1733, Bradley's Arnold 435. Cp. 49. 4, 51. 2, 60. 6, 101. 8, 106. 5 and 98. 2 n.

6 Observe the brevity of the description: the actual slaying is passed over.

## CHAPTER XIII.

- 1 **illum]** is here little more than an article: cp. 16. 5, 73. 4.  
**bello]** abl. So we find *bonus pace*, *bonus militia*, but 49. 2 *belli meliores*.
- 4 **prouinciam]** the Roman province of Africa, founded after the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. and comprising the territory of that state as it existed in its last days—the narrow border of coast opposite Sicily. See Map, where however the boundary is only shewn roughly. That given in most maps is the later boundary line: at this time Vaga and Zama, for instance, were clearly outside the province.
- 5 **Numidia]** 8. 1 n.  
**potiebatur]** as the tense shows, the verb must mean here 'be in possession of.'
- 6 **possint]** would have stood in the indicative but for the subjunctive 'atmosphere' in which it stands (*expleant, adquirant, cunctentur*).  
**ne cunctentur]** comes very late: it almost looks as if he had intended to write simply *parent*. Cp. however *ut* in 38. 3, 65. 2, 113. 2 and the order in 40. 3, 54. 2 (*Iugurtha*).
- 8 **spe]** that is, of reward.  
**consuleretur]** 'decree...be passed.' These impersonal constructions are most simply rendered by a noun and a verb in English: cp. 25. 1, 28. 3, 40. 1, 41. 7. For this meaning of *consulo* cp. *senatus consultum*. For the impersonal use of it in other meanings see e.g. 105. 1, 112. 3.
- 9 **senatus]** as we should say, 'an audience of the senate.'  
**utrisque]** 'both parties,' the legati and Adherbal: 18. 12 n.  
**accepimus]** Intr. p. xiv<sup>4</sup>.

## CHAPTER XIV.

- 1 **Patres conscripti]** The Romans themselves explain this phrase as consisting of two words standing side by side without a connecting particle (so often in old legal forms like *sarta tecta*, lit. 'repaired and covered,' i.e. in good repair), *patres* meaning the original (*patrician*) senators, *conscripti* those added, according to tradition, at the commencement of the Republic (see Liu. 2. 1. 10, 11). Even if this is true (and one objection to the explanation is that *adscripti* would be the natural word to use) the Romans of S.'s time ignored it: Cicero writes *pater conscriptus* for a senator.

**procuracionem]** Compare the grovelling language of Masinissa's ambassador in Liu. 45. 13. 15: *Masinissam usu regni contentum scire dominium et ius eorum qui dederint esse.*

**militiae]** a locative, like *domi*. The use of it, as in 84. 2, without the other locative, is rare, but cp. the use of *belli* (41. 7 n.).  
**esse]** after *eniterer*: see 17. 1 n.

**cognatorum]** depends on *in...locum*. The order is bold, but not too bold for S.: cp. 78. 2.

**in adfinium locum ducerem]** 'set you in the place of.' *Ducere* in this meaning generally takes the ablative (with or without *in*), but the other construction is quite possible, as the word easily implies motion. So *referre* and *ponere* are found taking *in* and the acc.: cp. too *in prouinciam...conlocat* 61. 2. Probably the metaphor is a bookkeeping one, in which case cp. 85. 26, 111. 1. [The (*in*) *adfinium loco* of certain MSS. seems generally adopted, but to me looks much more like a correction.]

2 **agitarem]** 'was practising.'

**ab stirpe]** 'from birth.' By the granting of the title *socius atque amicus* the Romans implied recognition of a king's title: cp. 24. 3, 77. 2, 104. 4, and for such recognition 65. 2.

3 **atque]** 'now.'

**uenturus eram]** 'was doomed to.'

**uellem etc.]** A good example of S.'s love of variety. The verb takes (1) a directly dependent subj., *possem* (cp. 24. 9), (2) an acc. and inf., *deberi beneficia*, (3) an *ut* clause, *uti uterer*.

**maxume]** 'above all,' 'if possible' as the best thing, as opposed to *secundum ea*: cp. 35. 4, 46. 4 [*μάλιστα μέν*]. 'I should like Rome to owe me favours, but myself not to require them.'

**secundum ea...uterer]** 'short of this (lit. 'next to this'), I would wish that, if I must require them, I could feel I was enjoying favours that were my due.' With *debitis* of course supply *beneficiis*.

4 **in manu fuit]** i.e. I have not the power to make him a good character. Cp. § 13, 31. 5 and Ter. Hec. 667 *uxor quid faciat, in manu non est mea*.

5 **in suis dubiis rebus]** It would be difficult to adduce an example where in such a case Rome admitted them to an alliance.

**bello Carthaginiensi]** 5. 4 n.

**magis fides eius quam fortuna petunda erat]** S. has sacrificed clearness to the charms of brevity and alliteration. He means: it was rather the knowledge that Rome was a loyal ally and would help them in *their* hour of need that was the attraction, than her actual position at the

time, hard put to it as she was by Hannibal. Tr. freely 'we had to hope for her promise to help rather than rely on her position at the time.'

- 6 **quorum**] by a 'sense-construction' refers back to *familia*: cp. 28. 2, 35. 6 n., 91. 4, 95. 1, 102. 6.

- 7 **atque**] 11. 8 n.

**deformatus**] 'with prestige lowered.'

**erat maiestatis**] With *debere*, the gerund and similar constructions, the indicative is regularly used in the apodosis of conditional sentences: Bradley's Arnold, 461. Cp. also 85. 48 (*decebat*). In some cases the verb in the indicative is really quite independent of the protasis; as here, in any case, to help the suppliant was in character with the *maiestas* of Rome. But the use of the imperfect shews that the tense of the protasis had influence.

- 8 **uerum**] 'but in point of fact.'

**Syphacem et Carthaginiensis**] 5. 4: besides this it was Masinissa's policy of encroachment that hastened on the third Punic war.

- 9 **me miserum**] exclamatory acc., 'unfortunate that I am.' R. 1128: cp. *urbem uenalem* 35. 10.

**hucine**] For the *i* inserted between *huc* and *-ne* cp. *sic-i-ne*.

**potissimum**] lit. 'in preference to all others,' 'of all men.' Note the word, and cp. § 15 below, 30. 4, 67. 1. So *potissimus* 94. 2.

**uorsabitur**] 'be familiar with.'

- 10 **iure**] 'naturally enough.'

**ab**] 'on' or 'at.' R. 1813: so *a tergo* regularly (94. 5) and cp. 17. 4, 48. 3 (*a meridie*) and this same phrase 50. 6, 101. 8. The real force of the prep. is 'from the side of.' So, metaphorically, 48. 3 *uastus ab natura et humano cultu*.

**iussissetis**] The subj. is due to virtual Or. Obl., as if he had said, 'we deemed no one our enemy.' Or it may be frequentative: see on 58. 3.

- 11 **intoleranda audacia**] may be abl. of quality or it may be abl. of cause, parallel to *scelere*, in which case for *atque* cp. 11. 8 n.

**sese ecferens**] (older spelling for *eff.*), 'transported by.'

**in imperio**] 'under your suzerainty.' *In* is often used to denote the circumstances and position: cp. e.g. Liu. 2. 15. 3 *non in regno* (i.e. under a king) *populum Romanum, sed in libertate esse*, and 31. 11 below. Sometimes it acquires almost causal force, as in 41. 6, 74. 1, 75. 8, 85. 26, Liu. l.c. 21. 4 *in tanta uetustate*, 'seeing how great the antiquity is,' and so we might tr. here, 'seeing that you were our lords.' Cp. also *in inuidia* 25. 5.



- patria, domo]** S. often omits the connecting particle between two words (asyndeton): other authors do so only in excited narrative (see also on *patres conscripti* of § 1). See Intr. p. xviii, and cp. § 17, 18. 2, 20. 8, 62. 1, 77. 1.  
**et]** 11. 8 n.  
**effecit]** governs *extorrem, inopem, coopertum, ut* being 'with the result that.'
- 13 **quod]** is the relative, explained by the *uti* clause: cp. 25. 10, 31. 6.  
**otium]** the peace which those wars have secured.
- 14 **tertium]** a third brother: cp. 10. 3 *beneficio meo fratres sunt* and 33. 4 *scelera in patrem fratresque*.  
**alter...alterius]** as though he had said 'I have two brothers.'
- 15 **potissimum]** i.e. what place am I to *select*? See § 9 above.  
**generis]** subj. gen., 'that my house can give.'  
**concessit]** 'yielded, as is due to,' something like our 'pay the debt of.'  
**alium alia]** 12. 2 n.  
**maerore et luctu]** the feeling of grief and its outward expression respectively.
- 16 **quae]** is first accusative and then nominative. Cp. 31. 18, 35. 3, 101. 5.  
**necessariis]** 'favourable' or 'friendly,' a sense of the word naturally not elsewhere found with things. Here of course persons are meant.  
**pro]** 'by virtue of,' 'in consideration of,' 9. 2 n.
- 17 **nunc uero]** 'but as it is.' So *nunc* § 24 below [*νῦν δέ*].  
**patria]** abl. of separation, an unusual constr. with *exul*: the word takes a gen. in poetry, but in prose generally stands alone.  
**qui]** really introduces the answer, 'Why, they....'  
**maiorum...hostilia monumenta]** 'memorials of my ancestors, memorials testifying to their having been foes to the country in which they are found.' The rhetorical exaggeration is perhaps exceptional, even for S.  
**sint]** subj. after *ubi non* as after *nemo est quin*. R. 1680 sqq.
- 18 **abunde etc.]** The acc. and infin. depends on *instituit*: cp. *monuit* 8. 1 n.  
**huic]** He stands in Rome.
- 20 **parum cognita]** if they knew how hollow it really was, they would avoid it.  
**transuorsos]** 6. 3 n.  
**incognita causa]** i.e. without hearing Iug. *Indicta causa* is common, but *cognoscere* is regularly used of judicial investigation, and *cognitio* implies hearing both sides.

- fingerē me]** The acc. and inf. depends on a verb of saying evolved from *niti* etc. 8. 1 n.
- uerba]** 'mere words,' 'idle tales,' as opposed to *res*. Cp. the common *uerba dare* 'to deceive.'
- cui]** of course refers to *me*, and will be tr. 'though I could have.' Notice the Latin for 'I could have done this': the past tense is given by the finite verb: *mihi licuit hoc facere*, not *licet fecisse*.
- 21 **quod]** the adversative conjunction, 'but,' as in *quod si* etc.
- simulantem]** in bitter irony, 'pretending as much as I am,' i.e. 'really suffering.'
- ne]** 'assuredly' (the *e* being long). Cp. 85. 20.
- reddat]** is really apodosis to the protasis *utinam uideam*.
- 22 **unde]** as often = *a quo*.
- laetandum...casum]** implies the possibility of saying *laetor casum*, which is indeed Latin, but not to be imitated: the abl. or a preposition usually follows.
- 23 **rerum humanarum spectaculum]** 'an object lesson of (the mutability of) men's fortunes.' Cp. 38. 9, and esp. 104. 2.
- cuius]** refers to Adherbal and is subj. gen., as *uitae necisque* are obj. gen., with *potestas*. 'My power to spare life or inflict death,' i.e. my power as a king.
- alienis]** that is, of Rome.
- 24 Tr. 'Would that death were an honourable way of escape for such a position as mine, and that people would not think I deserved all the insults I have received if I thus submitted to my wrongs.' The only difficulty is that *iniuriae concedere* would more naturally be used of swallowing one's pride and living on. [Hence some adopt the reading of certain MSS. *uiuere* for *iure* and take *neu* to introduce an alternative, 'or else, would that I could go on living, resigning all hope of revenge.' But *neu* in S. always introduces not an alternative, but a clause explaining or expanding what has preceded. And the clause before does need explanation, for there was nothing dishonourable in suicide to the mind of the ancients.]
- nunc]** § 17 n.
- 25 **per uos]** a verb of appealing must be supplied: cp. 10. 3 *per hanc dextram moneo obtestorque te*.
- familiae nostrae]** a rather loose gen., 'which rage in': cp. *Romae Numidioque facinora* 33. 4.

## CHAPTER XV.

- 1 *inferentem*] ought, according to the usage of the best writers, to mean 'at the time when he was beginning the war,' whereas S. means 'though he had been the one to begin,' i.e. *cum intulisset*. For equally free uses of the pres. ptc. see 35. 10, 103. 4, 106. 1, 113. 1. Do not imitate, but follow Bradley's Arnold, 410—412.

*ac*] of course goes with *aliud*, 'different from what they had found him,' cp. 72. 1 *aliter atque*, 79. 6 *haud secus atque*. So after *iuxta* 45. 2, *pariter* 46. 6 etc. where we tr. 'as.'

- 2 *consultitur*] that is, the presiding magistrate calls upon the members in turn to state their views (*dicere sententiam*): so 28. 2 *senatus a Bestia* (the consul) *consultus*.

*deprauata*] nominative. Men who had not actually been approached by Iug.'s agents let themselves be led by the influence of others who had. Cp. 13. 8.

*contemnere*] 'express contempt': cp. 64. 2 *mirari*.

- 3 *subueniendum*] As the verb governs a dative, the gerund was a necessity (Bradley's Arnold, 391): observe afterwards *mortem uindicandam*.

- 4 *factiosus*] 8. 1 n.

- 5 *ueritus*] This participle, like *ratus*, *ausus*, *usus* etc., is used in much the same sense as the Engl. present participle. Cp. 20. 1, 35. 9 etc.

*solet*] S. regularly omits *feri* in these cases: cp. 25. 3, 59. 3; in 96. 3 *facere* has to be supplied.

*polluta licentia*] Something is wrong with the text here. One misses a defining gen. to *licentia*, if it refers to recklessness in taking bribes, and *polluta* can hardly mean 'dishonourable' or 'shameless.' [Novak's *soluta* is not bad.]

## CHAPTER XVI.

- 2 *homo*] *uir* would be a definite expression of his approval on S.'s part.

*quia consul* etc.] C. Gracchus, whose democratic measures in 123, 122 had greatly incensed the nobles, tried to oppose by violence the repeal of one of his laws. A riot ensued, and on the following day the consul Opimius attacked him and his friends who had entrenched

themselves on the Aventine. The rioters were easily dispersed and Gracchus and his henchman Flaccus perished—the former by suicide. His party was hunted down by prosecutions: 3000 are said to have been executed. Cp. 31. 7, and ch. 42.

- 3 **fama, fide]** must be abl. after the comparative implied in *anteferre*. Generally however the abl. is used with such verbs only to denote the point *wherein* excellence is shewn. Some edd. prefer to read *famae, fide: fide* will then be dative (R. 360 *δ*). [Silius, who has several reminiscences of S., has *praecello* with a similar abl. (9. 478), but there the *prae* makes the abl. easier.]
- 4 **aggressus...capit]** note the military metaphor, and cp. 61. 4, 85. 6.
- 5 **illam]** 13. 1 n.  
**possedit]** from *possido*, as in 18. 11 and 12, 48. 3: cp. 11. 3 (*adsedit*).

## CHAPTER XVII.

- 1 **res]** my subject: 42. 5, 79. 10, 95. 2.  
**postulare...exponere]** *Postulo* is here constructed with the inf. on the analogy of such words as *hortor* and *moneo*, which are sometimes so constructed by S.: cp. 19. 2, 24. 4. He even has the inf. after *impero* (e.g. 47. 2). Cp. 14. 1 (after *enitor*), 37. 2 (after *nilor*), 39. 5 (after *ardeo*), 52. 5 (after *remitto*), 64. 2 (after *caueo*).
- 2 **asperitatem]** 'difficulty of access': cp. 75. 2 and 10; in 89. 4 and esp. 92. 4 *danger* is implied.  
**item]** variation for *aut*.  
**compertum]** 'based on certain information.'  
**absoluam]** *narrabo*, a sense of the word peculiar to S. The idea is that of discharging a necessary task.
- 3 **pauci]** among them the most learned Roman of the day, M. Terentius Varro. *Posuere* passes into the meaning 'laid it down that' and so takes acc. and inf.  
**sed]** 'and': 5. 5 n.
- 4 **ab]** 'on': 14. 10 n.  
**nostri]** Mediterranean.  
**Oceani]** Atlantic.  
**decliuem latitudinem]** 'broad descent (or slope).' A comparison with 19. 3 shews that Egypt is here reckoned part of Asia.
- 5 **trugum fertilis etc.]** notice the strained aiming after variety of expression. *Frugum* is gen. with an adj. denoting fulness (or it may

depend on the verbal idea of the adj.: cp. 7. 1 n.), *arbore* must be abl. of respect. For the collective sing. cp. *glande aut lapidibus* 57. 4.

**caelo terraque**] little rainfall and few lakes, rivers etc.

6 **salubri**] = *sano*.

**laborum**] 7. 1 n.

**nam**] explains why they live to old age; *ad hoc* refers to *bestiis interiere*, but the connection is very lax: one would expect it to introduce a fresh reason for their living long.

7 **plerosque optinet**] *Fama tenet, optinet* are common phrases, but for the verb to govern an acc., as here, is exceptional. We must tr. 'prevails among.'

**Hiempsalis**] not the Hiempsal of ch. 12, but a second one of the name, who joined the Marian party against Sulla. He was father of the Iuba who fought for Pompey.

**interpretatum**] passive, as occasionally in other writers. S. uses several verbs that are regularly deponents either in the active form or with passive meaning: cp. *enisum* 25. 2, *ulcisci* 31. 8, *ludificare* 36. 2 (and the past part. with passive force 50. 4), *partinerant* (43. 1), *conspicatur* (49. 4), *frustrari* 58. 3. It is all part of his archaising tendency, but cp. 101. 9 n. Conversely, in 45. 1 we have *conperior*.

**nobis...dicam**] for the curious alternation of 'editorial' *we* and *I*, cp. 95. 2.

**penes auctores**] Seneca (N. Q. 4. 3) says it is the way of historians 'after telling as many falsehoods as they choose, to refuse to vouch for some one particular and say *penes auctores fides erit*.' *Fides* is 'the guarantee.'

#### CHAPTER XVIII.

1 **humi**] goes with *pabulum*, being practically an adj.: cp. *domi poenas* 79. 7 and see on 28. 1.

**uti pecoribus**] is in apposition to *quis*.

2 **moribus**] 'institutions': cp. Cat. 6. 3 'the state grew *ciuibus, moribus, agris*.'

**quas nox coegerat**] sc. *eos habere*: they made that spot their resting place which the fall of night compelled *them* to accept.

3 **Afri**] Whereas the Greek legend makes him return victorious with the oxen of Geryones and fixes the end of his mortal life on Mt. Oeta in Greece. Cp. 89. 4 *Hercules Libys*.

**quisque**] must be abl. pl.; the plural denotes that the headship is that of *tribes*, not individuals: cp. § 12 below, *utrique*. The contracted

form for *quibusque* occurs nowhere else, at least in classical Latin [but it seems incredible that we ought therefore to take it here as nom. sing.: the abl. is required by the usage of the language].

4 et] 11. 8 n.

5 intra Oceanum] i.e. south-west of the straits.

mutandi] 'getting by barter,' as in § 9: cp. 44. 5 n.

6 ignara] passively (= *ignota*). Cp. 52. 4.

7 ei] = *Persae*.

alia, deinde alia] With the first *alia* supply *primum*: 'first one, then another,' 'one after the other.' Cp. 36. 2, 55. 8 (*aliis, post aliis*), and 59. 3 *sequi, dein cedere*.

Nomadas] *nomos* is Gk. for pasture, *nomas* one who moves about for pasture, a migratory shepherd.

8 ceterum] i.e. in spite of the change of name, traces of their arrival by sea remain.

carinae] 'hulls.'

9 adcessere] 'reinforced.' *nam* explains why these tribes fell in with Libyans, not Gaetulians.

mare Africum] part of the Mediterranean must be meant.

agitabant] This verb is common in S., with the meaning 'live, be, keep.' Of course the full phrase is *aetatem agitare*. Cp. e.g. 19. 5, 54. 2, 59. 1, 74. 1 and the use of *agere* 55. 2 n. Tacitus borrows both usages.

oppida habuere] therein differing from the *Persae* of §§ 5, 6.

freto] 'only the strait.'

inter se] is careless, as if he had said at the beginning *ipsi et Hispani*. The point is not that the tribes had commerce with each other, but that they had it with Spain.

11 res] 'state.'

nomine Numidae] 'taking the name of Numidians' (lit. of course 'N. by name').

Carthagine] with *proxima* just as they said *prope abesse a loco* for 'to be near to.' But the only parallels are 19. 4 below and one of S.'s fragments where *propincus* takes the same case. [As a matter of fact, our MSS. have the acc. in both passages, and S. does construct *proximus, proxime* with the acc. But Arusianus (4th century grammarian) cites these two passages and the fragment (for which he is the sole authority) as exx. of the abl. construction.]

appellatur] sing. by attraction to the predicate *Numidia*, as in the familiar *amantium irae amoris redintegratio est*. R. 1435.

- 12 *utrique alteris*] the plural of these words regularly means 'each party,' or 'each set of cases.' Cp. 13. 9, 22. 5, 42. 4, 53. 7, 60. 1 etc. One might have expected *alteri* for *utrique* (as in the last three exx. cited). The parties are the parent stock of § 7 and the emigrants of § 11.
- inferior*] lower lying, the part towards the Mediterranean: cp. *super* 19. 5.
- pleraque*] S. affects the sing. of this word (54. 9, 79. 2, 85. 21): do not imitate.
- concessere*] 'passed into,' 'were merged in.'

## CHAPTER XIX.

- 1 *sollicitata...avidis*] refers only to the *pars* and shews how they set to work. *Sollicitata* must be taken with both *plebe* and *avidis*.
- Hipponem...Leptim*] Each of these names was borne by two cities: here where he appears to be naming cities in the immediate vicinity of Carthage, *Hippo Zarytus* and the so-called *Leptis minor* are probably meant.
- originibus*] 'mother cities.'
- 2 *nam*] 'I do not mention Carthage, for....' *Nam* often gives the reason for a thought which is not expressed: cp. 82. 2, 88. 5, 102. 11.
- parum*] 'inadequately.'
- 3 *ad*] seems to mean 'starting at.'
- secundo mari*] lit. 'with the sea following,' i.e. keeping the sea by you, keeping along the coast.
- Theraeon*] = Θηραίων, a Gk. gen. pl.: cp. *Philaenon* just below. *Thera* was one of the Cyclades.
- ac deinceps*] One would hardly gather from S.'s description that the order is (1) Greater Syrtis, (2) Philaenon arae, (3) Leptis, (4) Lesser Syrtis. His love of brevity is to blame: when he came to (1) he thought he would at once explain that there were two Syrtes and that Leptis came between them.
- Leptis*] sc. *magna*, as distinct from Leptis of § 1.
- Philaenon*] see ch. 79.
- 4 *Hispania*] 18. 11 n.
- 5 *super*] 'inland of:' cp. *inferior* 18. 12. So *post* just below.
- 7 *igitur*] as often, is resumptive: 'to come back to the war.' Cp. 42. 4, 49. 1, 64. 1, 86. 4, 96. 1.
- nouissime*] 'finally': i.e. 'at the end of their empire': see on 13. 4.
- magistratus*] Each Roman province was put under the government

of a praetor (or propraeor as he would be called if, as often happened, he came out to the province after the expiration of his regular year of office in the city). For the praetor of this province see 104. 1.

cetera] an adverbial acc. also found in Livy, but not in Caesar or Cicero. It should not be imitated: R. 1102.

## CHAPTER XX.

- 1 **contra timorem**, 'contrary to what he had feared would be the case': *contra ac timuerat* would be more usual. But cp. 75. 9, and the common *contra spem*, also *c. decus regium* (33. 1, 72. 2), *c. belli faciem* (46. 5).  
acceperat] 8. 1.
- 3 **loca**] S. often omits *ad* with *adcedo*: he is not to be followed in this peculiarity.
- 4 **conuortit**] intrans. as in 101. 6, and cp. 85. 9 (*uortit*). Here again it would be rash to imitate: use the passive (practically deponent) or insert *se*.
- 5 **neque...et**] 1. 5.  
**omnia**] i.e. everything *else*, 'anything': cp. 24. 2, 26. 2, 58. 1 etc.  
**temptatum**] with *bellum*, referring to the events of 13. 3, 4.  
**secus**] otherwise, that is, than was wished: cp. 25. 10. *Cedo* in this phrase of course means 'result,' 'turn out': so *procedo* l.c.

## CHAPTER XXI.

- 1 **intellegit...esset**] The imperfect may be due to the fact that *intellegit* is practically historic present, or *intellegit* may actually be the perfect: see 40. 1 n.
- 2 **interim**] seems to mean 'for the present,' as opposed to the next step, detailed in the following sentence. But this meaning of the word is rare and practically confined to later Latin.  
**Cirtam**] the modern Constantine. For its position see on 23. 1.  
**diei extremum**] S. often uses the neuter adj. as a noun, with a partitive gen. in dependence; the same word in 37. 4, 90. 1; *humi arido atque harenoso* 48. 3; *plerumque* just below and 109. 4, *pleraque* 78. 4; *propinqua* 89. 5; *proxima* 78. 2; *summum montis* 93. 2. The use is a favourite with the poets. See Intr. p. xvii and R. 1290 sqq.  
**etiam tum**] 'still': dawn had not really broken.  
**togatorum**] The word *togati* was used in ref. to the Italian troops which served along with the Romans, and was consequently applied by



the provincials to all Italians settled amongst them : cp. 26 *passim* and 47. 1. The *negotiatores* of 26. 3 are the same.

- 3 **uineis turribusque**] The former were sheds with open sides which were placed behind the engines of war to protect the men working them : cp. 92. 9 and many passages in this book. They were often set on fire or knocked over by the enemy : cp. 94. 4. The *turres* were moveable towers, often on wheels, which could be driven up to the walls : besides the advantage which their height gave to the bowmen stationed upon them they enabled storming parties to pass by means of gangways directly on to the ramparts of the city. Cp. an interesting passage in Caesar (B. G. 2. 30) where the Gauls scoff when they see a *turris* being reared aloft in the distance : they ask *quibusnam manibus aut quibus uiribus praesertim homines tantulae staturae tanti oneris turrim in muro sese collocare confiderent*. But when they saw it advancing towards the walls, they sent some of their number to treat for peace. Along with *uineae* and *turres* are often mentioned *aggeres*. These were mounds of earth thrown up near the city walls, upon which *catapultae* and the like were placed so as to command the interior of the city : see 37. 4, 76. 3 (where *turres* are placed on one), etc.

**expugnare**] 9. 3 n.

**legatorum**] is very brief for 'the arrival of the *legati*.'

- 4 **adulescentes**] This was rather contemptuous treatment : in important cases these *legati* were men who had at least held the praetorship : contrast 25. 4 and 16. 2.

**uerbis**] 'in the name of' : so 25. 11, 102. 2.

**uelle et censere**] The subject is *senatum populumque R.*

**ita...esse**] At this point the meaning of *censere* passes from 'think best' to 'think.'

**seque illisque**] 10. 2 n.

## CHAPTER XXII.

- 1 **maturantes ueniunt**] Note the (somewhat rare) use of a pres. participle where we should use an adverbial phrase. Adjectives are often so used (e.g. *tacitus*, *inuitus*) : for the present use cp. 44. 5, 52. 5, 53. 1.
- clemens**] favourable to Iug. : it put the best possible construction on his behaviour.
- 2 **ita**] only prepares the way for *ut* and may be omitted in translation.
- 4 **pro bono**] = *bene*. Such phrases, where a substantival adj. governed by

*pro* is equivalent to the corresponding adverb, are occasionally found : cp. Liu. 6. 40. 17 *Sextium haud pro dubio consulem esse*.

**iure gentium**] that which all nations recognise as just. The *ius gentium* is often referred to in connexion with the inviolability of ambassadors : cp. 35. 7.

**prohibuerit**] though all the other subordinate clauses of this speech are secondary. Such a change is common in Livy, and may be due to love of variety, but even Caesar has examples.

5 **utrique**] 18. 12 n.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

1 **loci naturam**] It stands on a height surrounded by the Ampsagas flowing in a deep ravine and is only accessible from the S.W., where a narrow *col* joins it to the adjacent hills.

**armis**] by storm (which he had tried, 21. 3).

**turris**] are fixed towers, similar to the modern 'block-house.'

**temptare**] The object (*eam*, the city) must be supplied, as in 29. 1.

**prorsus**] 'in short,' often used by S. in summing up, as the equivalent of *denique* : cp. 30. 3, 66. 1, 76. 4.

2 **confirmat**] 'makes bold enough,' 'encourages,' 'prevails upon': an uncommon meaning of the word, but cp. Liu. 2. 24. 2 *alius alium confirmare ne nomina darent*.

**proximum mare**] 'nearest part of the sea': cp. *summus mons* etc. and 61. 2 note.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

3 **beneficia**] conferred on Iug.

4 **scribere**] 17. 1 n. He means, either that his circumstances are too desperate for him to waste time in mere reviling, or else that the mere fact that he is in this plight will prevent their believing anything he says of Iug.

**antea**] referring to the events of ch. 14 sqq.

5 **nisi** etc.] There is here some laxity of construction : perhaps the use is colloquial. Practically, *nisi* = *sed*, but the speaker means : 'I won't say more, except this : that I see etc.' for which correct Latin requires *nisi (hoc :) me intellegere*. The same construction in 67. 3, 100. 5.

**quam**] as if *supra* were a comparative. It regularly follows *ultra*, **gravius**] 'of more importance.'

- 6 **nam]** The explanation really comes with the next sentence, as if he had said, 'for, though before you may say he was only attacking *us*, he is now turning on *you*.' Cp. 28. 5 n.  
**fuerint]** logical jussive, 'let us grant they were.' So 31. 8.  
**nihil ad uos]** exactly like our, 'that is nothing to you,' does not concern you. Curiously enough it is also good Latin for 'nothing to you' in the colloquial sense of *to=compared to*.  
7 **uostrum]** he seems to reckon it as Roman since the division of 16. 5. **legatorum]** of 21. 4.  
**quant]** locative of price or value: cp. 32. 5, R. 1186.  
8 **possit]** consecutive subj., *quo* being = *ut eo*.  
9 **nam etc.]** explains why he has just said '*you* must help *me*': *he* can do nothing.  
**forent]** is directly dependent on *uellem*: 14. 3 n.  
**fidem...faceret]** 'corroborate.' The subj. is a final one, *potius quam* having the idea of preventing a result: hence they often write *potius quam ut*. Cp. 106. 3 and R. 1676, 1678.  
10 **eo]** simply points forward to *ut*.  
**amicitiae fidem]** 10. 3 n.

## CHAPTER XXV.

- 1 **consuleretur]** it should be discussed what was to be done to him. Observe that S. varies the construction: he might have continued with *consulendum*.  
2 **eisdem illis]** of 15. 2. For *enisum* see 17. 7 n.  
3 **solet]** sc. *feri*, 15. 5 n.  
4 **maiores natu]** see on 21. 4.  
**supra]** 15. 4. He was consul in 115.  
**senatus princeps]** The censors when they revised the senate-list chose from among the patrician members one whose name should stand at its head and who at the meetings was always called on first to give his *sententia* (15. 2 n.). At one time only those who had been censors were eligible, but this rule cannot have existed at the time S. refers to (if his facts are right), for Scaurus was not censor until 109.  
5 **in inuidia]** with the people. For *in*, cp. 14. 11 n.  
**Uticam]** the capital of the *prouincia* and the seat of its governor.  
**prouinciam]** 13. 4 n.  
**adcedat...missos]** Or. Obl. depending on the sense of *litteras mittunt*: cp. 88. 5 etc. (where it follows *nuntios mittere*). The subj. is the regular jussive which represents the imperative of Or. Rect.

- 6 metu atque lubidine] with *agitabatur*.  
 diuorsus] divided between them: cp. 46. 4.
- 7 paruisset] subj. of virtual Or. Obl.: for the tense cp. 8. 1 n. Here of course there is no actual acc. and inf.: the apodosis is implied in the object of the verb of fearing: cp. 75. 2, R. 1750.  
 porro] 'and then again.'
- 9 casum]=*occasionem* (so 56. 4): do not imitate.
- 10 intenderat] *Intendo* is a favourite with S. in the sense of 'aim,' 'purpose.' He constructs it with an object (noun or infinitive), or a word like *quo* denoting direction: cp. 64. 1, 74. 1, 92. 6, 102. 1, 104. 1, 107. 7. For another sense of it, see 75. 8.  
 ut...potiretur] explains *quod*.
- 11 senati] cp. 40. 1, R. 399. It is hardly an archaism, as Quintilian in the next century says *SENATI an SENATUS faciat incertum est* [unless we have in these words of Quintilian an early trace of the archaising movement represented by e.g. Gellius].  
 consumpta] regularly used of spending to no purpose: cp. e.g. 93. 1.  
 frustra] for 'without having accomplished anything' (*re infecta*), is a good example of S.'s love of brevity. It was their *coming*, not their *going*, to which the adv. strictly applied.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

- 1 Italici] 21. 2.  
 deditione facta] is equivalent to *si deditio facta esset*, and belongs to the acc. and inf. clause.  
 seque et] *Que...et* is avoided by Caesar and Cicero, but cp. 55. 1, 89. 7, 91. 2, 104. 1. See on 10. 2.  
 de ceteris etc.] *Suadent* here passes into the meaning 'assure' and so takes the construction of a verb of saying: 8. 1 n.
- 3 armatus] if right, implies that the inhabitants, when they saw the town was being treated like one taken by storm, in spite of the *deditio*, took up arms. There is however fair authority for *armatis*.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

- 1 ministri] contemptuously, of the Romans who had taken his bribes: cp. 25. 2 and 3.  
 gratia] 'personal influence.'  
 leniebant] 'tried to....'
- 2 Memmius] It is curious to find him attacking the nobles here, for

in 100 A.D. he stood for the consulship in their interest and paid for his temerity with his life. A band of ruffians, hired by the revolutionary party, with which Marius had allied himself, suddenly fell upon him and beat him to death.

**tribunus plebis**] The tribunate, originally established to protect the *plebs* from the patricians, was now one of the most powerful state magistracies, and yet could be held by men long before they were eligible even for the praetorship. It was the recognised post from which to start a revolution and was utilised by both of the Gracchi for that purpose. It was even as tribune that Rienzi came forward nearly fifteen centuries later to protect the people from the nobles.

**designatus**] Magistrates were generally elected some time before their term of office began: in the interval they were styled *designati*. As such they enjoyed certain privileges otherwise peculiar to magistrates: whether they had, as S. certainly implies, the right of addressing the people is doubtful. [See Mommsen St. R. i. 591<sup>6</sup>.]

**id agi ut**] is simply the passive of *id agere ut*, 'to do one's best to....' Tr. 'the object aimed at was that....'

**Iugurthae**] dative.

**dilapsa**] 'evaporated.'

- 3 **lege Sempronia**] a law passed by C. (Sempronius) Gracchus in 123, enacting that the senate, before the consuls were elected, should fix two provinces for them to govern. After election, the consuls decided (by lot or arrangement) which of the two each should have (cp. 43. 1). *Futuris* then does not mean *designatis*, but 'those who should be elected.'

**Italia**] In the designation of Italy as a *provincia* we see a clear trace of the original force of that word—sphere of activity specially assigned to a magistrate by law, decree of the senate, or the like. A 'province,' in the ordinary sense of the word, Italy was not. Sometimes we find it assigned to both consuls, when their presence is not needed elsewhere. Contrast 35. 4, where trouble in Macedonia as well as Numidia called both consuls away.

- 4 **P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia**] The gentile name of each, Cornelius and Calpurnius, is omitted, awkwardly enough in the latter's case, as he is immediately afterwards referred to by it. [There is however some doubt as to the correctness of the text: see Mommsen R. F. i. 41<sup>68</sup>.]

**Bestia**] distinguished himself after the death of C. Gracchus by effecting the recall of Popilius (see on 31. 7) whose banishment Gracchus had secured.

obuenit] like *euenerat* (35. 4), may refer to lot or arrangement (see above, *lege Sempronia*).

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

- 1 *contra spem*] is practically an adj. with *nuntio*. S. does not avoid such a usage as carefully as do most good Latin writers. Cp. 33. 4, 86. 3, 109. 4 and note on 112. 3. *Humi* in 18. 1 is similarly used; see note there.

*uenum ire*] cp. *pessum dari* 1. 1 n. The phrase is subject to *haeserat*, 'the belief that everything could be bought had struck deep root in.' Cp. 6. 3 n.

*miserat*] 13. 6.

*aggrediantur*] depends directly on *praecipit*: cp. (after *persuadet*) 35. 2; (after *imperat*) 35. 4, 75. 5; (after *hortatur*) 54. 1 etc.; R. 1606.

- 2 *moenibus*] the simple abl. with *recipere* seems partly local, partly instrumental. Cp. R. 1174.

*eique*] = *senatus*: 14. 6 n.

- 3 *ex*] 'in accordance with,' as often: cp. 62. 5 *ex consili decreto* and 40. 5 n.

*nuntiari*] 'answer to be made': see on 13. 8.

- 4 *legat sibi*] 'chooses as his *legati*, or staff officers.'

*deliquisset*] 8. 1 n.

- 5 *nam*] seems to explain the hint given by the words *quae deliquisset*. But the sense is obscured by the way in which S. has put his main idea in the relative clause, 'he had good qualities, and yet his avarice ruined them,' for 'though he had...yet his avarice....' For this use of *nam* not going with the clause which immediately follows it, cp. 24. 6 n.

- 6 *sed*] clearly not 'but': see 5. 5 n.

*Siciliam*] the prep. seems omitted for symmetry, owing to *Regium*. See however on 79. 2.

*transuectae*] only applies to the getting them over to Sicily: with *Regium*, *ductae* would naturally be used. This use of a verb governing two nouns, though its sense only suits one of them, is a form of what the grammarians call Zeugma: another ex. in 55. 1.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

- 1 *temptare*] sc. *Calpurnium*: cp. 23. 1.

*aeger*] suffering from, weakened by: cp. 32. 4 *uis auaritiae in animos eorum ueluti tabes inuaserat*.

- 2 a principio] 'at the outset.'  
 plerisque...conruptis] concessive, 'although....'  
 factione] 8. 1 n.
- 3 postea...quam] of course go together.
- 4 fidei causa] 'to inspire confidence': so 85. 29.  
 quaestor] The quaestorship was the lowest of the important magistracies. For the military quaestor see Intr. p. xxi, for another kind 104. 3 n.  
 quod...imperauerat] cp. 62. 5 for the construction.  
 quoniam...agitabantur] 'because, owing to the delay with regard to the surrender, a truce was observed.' C. had insisted on corn being given him as a condition of granting the truce. agitabantur, as in § 7.
- 5 igitur] having got the security he required.  
 praesenti consilio] as opposed to *cum Bestia et Scauro*. The general's council would comprise his quaestor, the *legati* and (military) tribunes: in some cases certain of the centurions would join it. Cp. the council of 62. 4.  
 de inuidia...atque uti] Observe the variation. With *uti*, *locutus* becomes practically a verb of asking.  
 secreta] predicatively, 'as secret business.'  
 saturam] the name given to a dish filled with various fruits, then to any dish of various ingredients, and finally 'a medley.' Here *per sat.* seems to mean that the question was not put simply, but proposals which they were ready to accept were combined with others of quite the opposite character and the points at issue thus confused. The device is not entirely unknown in modern council chambers.
- 6 pro] as in 8. 2.  
 paruo] Not that Iug. got off easily, but Bestia and Scaurus were not concerned with what he paid to the *state*. They doubtless charged him more for the private interview of § 5.
- 7 rogandos] the elections for 110 (held some time in 111).

## CHAPTER XXX.

- 1 quoque] *Que* here joins *res gestas* to the dependent question *quo modo actae forent*.  
 probarent, subuorterent] are of course indirect questions, depending on *constabat*. But the direct question would be subj. also, the subj. of deliberation; *probemus an subuortamus?* they would say. Parse then as

a dependent deliberative. For the power of the senate in this matter, see on 39. 3.

- 3 cuius...odio potentiae nobilitatis] an extraordinary string of genitives, of which the first and last are possessives, the second objective depending on *odio*.

supra] 27. 2.

contionibus] meetings called by magistrates. Only magistrates could speak at them, except in so far as they might order a private individual to make some statement (so in 34. 1). Such meetings did not definitely decide anything: often they served the purpose of a modern indignation meeting and were convenient means for working on public opinion. Cp. Marius' *contio* in 84. 5.

prorsus] 23. 1 n.

- 4 Memmi facundia] Cicero (Brut. 136) says M. was quite an ordinary orator, but *accusator acer atque acerbus*.

potissimum] 14. 9 n.

reditum] of 29. 7.

#### CHAPTER XXXI.

- 1 dehortantur...superet] Notice the difference of moods, *Dehortantur* states a fact as a fact, and is not really connected with the *ni* clause, the real apodosis of which is omitted. Thus tr. 'tend to prevent, (and would prevent) me.' Cp. Cat. 58. 6 *si...animus ferat, egestas prohibet*, 53. 7 below, Verg. Ecl. 9. 45 *numeros memini si uerba tenerem*, R. 1574.

patientia] 'long-suffering,' 'passive spirit.'

ius nullum] 'the fact that legal rights are abolished': cp. 6. 3 n.

innocentiae] is of course governed by *est*.

- 2 nam] introduces the proof of their *patientia*.

illa] simply points forward.

quindecim] He is speaking in 111 B.C. and refers to a state of things that began with the death of T. Gracchus in 133 B.C.: one would expect 20 or 25 to be the round number. XV. may be a mistake for XX. (which indeed some of the good MSS., but none of the best, read) or XXV.

ut] 'how.'

ab] not 'by' (the simple abl. would mean that), but 'in consequence of.'

- 3 obnoxiiis inimicis] causal abl. abs. 'when they are....' *Obnoxius* means 'submissive' or 'at your mercy,' *ob* having the force it has in *obviam*, so that the literal meaning is 'in the way of, liable to harm.'



- 5 ob rem] a rare equivalent for *in rem*, 'to the purpose': *res* has much the same sense as in 17. 1.
- 6 quod...fecere] explained by *uti...eatis*.  
secessione] cp. § 17 n.  
more] they themselves have given the example, as he goes on to shew.  
eant] is governed by *necesse est*, as often: e.g. 85. 27.
- 7 Ti. Graccho] elder brother of Gaius (16. 2 n.). As tribune in 133 he carried an agrarian law, but in doing so ventured to depose one of his colleagues, who opposed him. On his trying to be reelected tribune he was charged with aiming at royal power and was killed in a riot.  
parare] 'aim at.'  
quaestiones] A commission of enquiry, presided over by the consul Popilius, sentenced to death a great number of alleged accomplices of Gracchus.  
in carcere necati] 16. 2 n.
- 8 fuerit (and *factum sit* in the next sentence)] 24. 6 n.  
plebi sua restituere] 'to give the commons back their own,' is the subject.  
ulcisci] 17. 7 n.  
nequitur] is found in old Latin, with passive infinitives: cp. the use of *coeptum esse*.
- 9 nobilibus] for their advantage. Cp. what Catiline says (Cat. 20. 7): *illis* (=the nobles) *reges, tetrarchae uetigales esse, populi, nationes stipendia pendere*.  
diuina et humana] 5. 2 n.
- 10 incedunt] This verb often gives the idea of pomp and swagger.  
per ora] commonly used where we should say 'before your eyes.'  
sacerdotia] Membership of the four great collegia (Pontiffs, Augurs, Quindecimviri, Epulones) came to be greatly prized at Rome. The growth of their power is seen in the fact that the names of those which a man had held began to be included in the epitaph-inscriptions. The Pontifex Maximus had a quasi-magisterial position.  
triumphos] the honour granted to a victorious general of passing in procession at the head of his troops, accompanied by the captives and spoils won in the war, up to the Capitol and there sacrificing an ox to Jupiter. It was much coveted—so much so that a law had to be enacted requiring that a battle involving a loss of at least 5000 men must have been fought before a triumph could be claimed.  
honori, non praedae] A very strained use of the predicative dat.,

- as if he had written *quasi ea honori essent*. For *praedae* cp. 69. 3, and, for the thought, 4. 8.
- 11 uos] In questions of this kind (which are generally introduced by *an*, but cp. § 17 below) the two clauses are put side by side, without coordination. And so often in contrasted sentences: cp. 46. 4, 63. 6, 83. 1, 85. 12, 114. 2. We must say 'when slaves cannot...can you...?'
- in imperio] 'in the enjoyment of': cp. 14. 11 n., and our own expression 'born in the purple.'
- 12 et eidem] 'and at the same time,' 9. 2 n.
- honesta atque inhonesta] The stress is of course on *inhonesta*, the whole expression simply meaning 'everything.' It recurs 80. 5: cp. *ius et iniuriae* 14. 16, 33. 2 and Vergil's *facta atque infecta canebat* (of Fame, Aen. 4. 190).
- 13 occidisse] is obj. to *habent*.
- 14 quam...pessume...tam maxume] This use of *tam...quam* with superlatives is archaic for the usual *eo...quo* with comparatives.
- metum ab scelere suo etc.] their crime (i.e. criminal selves) ought to be afraid, but as a matter of fact it is your inactivity (i.e. cowardly and passive selves) that is afraid.
- quos] refers to the subj. of *transulere*.
- 16 neque...et] 1. 5.
- beneficia] is often applied to the conferring of office by the people: cp. 85. 3, 8, 26.
- 17 bis...Auentinum] Roman history makes the plebeians three times retire from the city, resolved to found a separate community of their own unless their grievances were redressed. In the first and most celebrated case, in 494 B.C., they resorted to the Mons Sacer; in the last, in 287 B.C., to the Ianiculum; in the second only, in 449, to the Aventine. S., who must include in his *bis* the secessions of 494 and 449, has either made a slip in conducting them both to the Aventine or has sacrificed truth to brevity. In a fragment of the Histories (1. 9) he himself describes the first secession as being to the Mons Sacer.
- 8 magis uos fecisse etc.] i.e. they deserve it, but it is beneath you. Observe that *quod* is first obj. and then subj.: cp. 14. 16 n.
- 0 nisi forte etc.] 3. 4 n.
- etiam] qualifies *nondum*.
- illa...haec] M. vividly pictures the time of disgrace as gone and so remote, the new era arrived.
- diuina et humana] § 9.

- nam]** introduces the proof that the words just spoken are not too severe. *Quidem* only emphasises *servitutem*: cp. *fidei quidem* § 23.
- 22 **quantum...habent]** lit. '(in regard to, according to) how much...they have,' i.e. 'such is...they possess'—a variety for the second ex. given in 7. 4 n.
- deinde]** with *faciundi*, 'in the future.'
- eripitur]** 'is wrung from you.'
- 24 **potestne]** *Ne* is sometimes used, even when the answer *Ne* is expected and *num* would be regular—particularly after *est*, *potest*.
- 25 **peculatus]** § 9.
- prodita]** 'treacherously abandoned,' 'sacrificed.'
- res publica]** 'the common weal,' 'interests of the state.'
- 26 **uindicatum]** sc. *erit* from the preceding *erunt*.
- regem]** When the infinitive stands as a subject, its predicate must be put in the acc. Cp. *inmemorem* § 28, *dominum* 85. 35, R. 1357. A hit at the aristocracy: they, not Gracchus, were guilty of aiming at *regnum*: cp. § 7.
- 23 **neglegas]** The subj. is potential, often found with the indefinite 2nd pers. sing., R. 1544. Here, and in 3. 2 (*possis*), the remarkable thing is its use in a subordinate clause. Cp. R. 1546 and tr. 'if one neglects....'
- 29 i.e. *beneficia* will not be needed if you can get rid of *malificia*.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

- 1 **interposita]** The verb is regularly used of giving a pledge. *Fides publica* is often used of a free pardon from the state: here it is rather a promise of protection: cp. § 5 below, 35. 7 and *fides* in 81. 1.
- pecuniae]** gen. of charge: cp. the similar gen. of the thing of which one is convicted, 35. 8, and of the penalty sought, 73. 5 (R. 1324).
- accersebat]** sc. *Memmius*.
- 2 **relicti a Bestia]** when he came home, 29. 7.
- 3 **fuere qui...alii...pars]** a good example of variation. *Vendere* is hist. inf. [All good mss. have the impossible *uenderent*.]
- ex pacatis]** cp. 88. 3 and *praedator ex sociis* 44. 1. *Ex* denotes the source: cp. *triumphare ex*, 'to celebrate a triumph over,' and *ex uictis spolia capere* 84. 1.
- 5 **perlata rogatione]** the 'bill' now became *lex*, 'statute': cp. on 40. 1.
- rebus suis]** 'his fortunes, prospects': cp. 46. 1, 60. 4, 64. 2, 75. 1, 83. 1.
- dedisset]** subj. (though *quoniam* regularly governs the ind.) because

it depends on a subjunctive clause (*ne...mallet*): indeed it is practically subordinate to Or. Obl.; cp. 35. 2.

minoris] 24. 7 n.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

- 1 **contra decus**] 20. 1 n.
- 2 **tametsi** etc.] S. appears to mean that, though he had plenty of impudence, he took the advice of his friends and did not rely on his own efforts entirely.  
**parat**] 10. 4 n.  
**ius et iniurias**] 31. 12 n.  
**foret**] final subj., as *cuius=ut eius*.
- 3 **contione**] 30. 3 n.  
**aperiret**] the subj. is due to the Or. Obl.; for the tense (= *aperiet* of Or. Rect.) cp. on 8. 1.  
**consulens**] 'desirous of satisfying the claims of': cp. 35. 9, and for the sense Cat. 51. 7 *ne plus apud uos ualeat P. Lentuli... scelus quam uostra dignitas, neu magis irae uostrae quam famae consulatis*.  
**per sese**] 'as far as he was concerned,' as often: cp. 64. 3, and especially 102. 9.
- 4 **Romae Numidiaequae**] are, I should suppose, genitives, on the analogy of such expressions as *Cannarum pugna*: cp. too 14. 25 (*familiae*). Most edd. explain them as locatives, *Numidiae* being used instead of *in Numidia* by a kind of attraction to *Romae*. This is certainly possible: cp. for such assimilation 28. 6 n.  
**patrem fratresque**] by adoption: 14. 14 n.  
**quibus**] Here begins Acc. and Inf., dependent on *uerba facit* or *ostendit* of the previous clauses. The *que* of *quibusque* of course joins *quibus ministris* to what precedes.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

- 1 **supra**] 33. 2.  
**tacere**] By Roman constitutional law the magistrate's prohibition, addressed to Iugurtha, takes precedence of his colleague's positive order.  
**quae ira fieri amat**] is a curious expression. Literally it must mean 'which anger likes (to see) happen.' For the personification cp. 41. 3 *quae secundae res amant*. [But S. must surely have had in mind the Greek use of *φιλεῖν* 'to be accustomed.' If so he has interpreted it strangely, for *ἀ φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι* would lead to *quae fieri amant* in Latin, and we should then have to add *ira* as abl.]

## CHAPTER XXXV.

- 1 **Gulussae**] 5. 6.  
**regum**] Iug. and Adherbal.  
**dedita Cirta**] 26. 2.
- 2 **persuadet...petat**] 28. 1 n. For the mood of *sit* cp. 32. 5 n.  
**inuidia**] is nom.  
**metu**] the fear which Iug. inspired.
- 3 **omnia**] is first obj., then subj.: 14. 16 n.
- 4 **Macedonia**] 27. 3 n.  
**maxume occulte**] 'by preference (if possible) secretly': 14. 3 n.
- 6 **eo numero qui...erant**] so 38. 6; for the sense construction cp. 14. 6 n.  
**inconsultius**] i.e. they did not take sufficient precautions to escape falling into the hands of the Roman police.  
**indicium profitetur**] the regular equivalent for our 'turn king's evidence.'
- 7 **ex**] 'in accordance with.'  
**aequo bonoque**] 'equity': for *ius gentium* see on 22. 4 and cp. 91. 7 *ius belli*.  
**comes**] causal or concessive apposition, 'though he was...': see 12. 3 n.  
**fide publica**] 32. 1 n.
- 8 **sceleris**] 32. 1 n.  
**animum aduortit**] so, not *animaduortere*, in 69. 1, 93. 2.  
**supra**] i.e. beyond the power of *gratia* and *pecunia* to mitigate.
- 9 **priore actione**] when B. appeared first before the magistrate.  
**regno**] 'his throne.' For **consulens** see on 33. 3.
- 10 **respiciens**] as *postremo* shews, stands for *cum respexisset*. Cp. 15. 1 n.  
**urbem**] is exclamatory acc.: 14. 9 n.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

- 1 **forent**] consecutive subj., *quae* meaning 'of such a kind as to...'  
**ante comitia**] No doubt he had set out late: a fresh campaign had not been anticipated, and so no preparations begun early.  
**quod tempus**] i.e. 'the time for which,' just as they said e.g. *is metus* for 'fear of this': cp. too *is numerus* (35. 6) practically equivalent to 'the number of those,' and *ea gratia* (54. 4), *ea formidine* (54. 6).
- 2 **alias, deinde alias**] 18. 7 n.

- ne sui diffident]** as they would if he was always retreating.  
**belli...pacis mora]** obj. gen. like *deditionis mora* 29. 4. He would not hastily make peace or fight.  
**ludificare]** for the active form cp. 17. 7 n.  
**3 tum]** goes with *haud ignarum*.  
**ex]** 'out of,' and so of change, 'after.' Cp. 10. 2 *Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti*.  
**magis quam]** 'so much as': cp. 1. 5.  
**4 pro praetore]** the regular title for the deputy of a provincial governor or commander-in-chief (even of a consular one). So 103: 4.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

- 2** The description shews all the vagueness we expect from S.—especially in constitutional matters. Mommsen [St. R. 1. 523] believes that a tribune could not legally stand for a second consecutive tribunate unless fewer candidates had presented themselves than there were tribunes to be elected. Whether Lucullus and Annianus claimed this privilege and the others objected, or whether the two men simply tried to override the general regulation, must remain undecided. **totius anni** again can only mean up to Dec. 9, for that day was the last of their office.  
**impediebat]** Tribunes could postpone the holding of all elections—except, probably, those of their own body.  
**3 terrore]** is of course abl. of cause, explaining why the king should bribe him.  
**exercitus]** is subjective, 'inspired by his army.'  
**mensē Ianuario]** There are several reasons for believing that the defeat took place before Jan., 109: one of these is given in Intr. p. xv. Probably S. simply selected this month, without reflection, to denote the severest period of winter.  
**hieme aspera]** concessively, 'though it was severe.'  
**Suthul]** is not otherwise known, but was probably near Calama, where Orosius (historian of the fifth century) places the scene of this defeat.  
**4 extremo]** the edge of the plateau: cp. 21. 2 n. for the grammar.  
**quo]** should only be used for *ut* where the dependent clause contains a comparative. Here *addideret* implies one, but S. sometimes uses the word where no comparative idea is involved: e.g. 52. 6.  
**potiundi]** depends on *cupidine*.  
**vineas...aggerem]** 21. 3 n.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

- 1 uanitate] 'folly.'
- 2 ita...fore] depends on a verb of saying, implied in *spe pactionis*: cp. 8. 1 n. For *delicta* cp. 28. 4.
- 3 diu] recurs 44. 5. It is a distinct archaism, adopted from S. by Tacitus.  
temptabat] 'sounded.'  
centuriones] Intr. p. xxv. duces turmarum] Intr. pp. xxiii<sup>4</sup>, xxiv.  
signo dato] of course belongs to *desererent*: cp. 13. 6 n. for the order.
- 4 ex sententia] 'in accordance with his wishes,' as very often in Latin, cp. 43. 5, 109. 4. The phrase also means 'on one's oath': hence the tale of the Roman who was dissatisfied with his wife, and being asked by the censor '*ex tui animi sententia* (almost 'on your oath and conscience': the phrase occurs below, 85. 27) *tu uxorem habes?*' replied with the jest, '*non hercule ex animi mei sententia* ('to my liking').'
- 5 anceps] the enemy were all round them (*circumuenit* § 4): cp. 67. 2.
- 6 numero, quos] 35. 6 n.  
cohors...Ligurum...turmis Thracum] Intr. p. xxix.  
gregariis] of the legions presumably. But in 93. 2 a Ligurian is so styled.  
transiere] plural after *cohors cum turmis*: a rare constr., repeated in 101. 5 (R. 1437).  
centurio primi pili] Intr. p. xxv.  
tertia legionis] Intr. p. xxi<sup>2</sup>.  
eae] *eā* is the demonstrative adverb corresponding to *quā*: so 50. 6, 92. 8, *eādem* 93. 5.
- 8 remorata] for neut. pl. referring to two or more feminine subjects cp. 41. 3, 52. 4, 68. 1, 77. 3, 85. 30.
- 9 uti] is not really needed, as *decederet* would be the regular jussive of Or. Obl. for the imperative of Or. Rect.
- 10 metu] is abl. of price: cp. 44. 5, R. 1198.  
mutabantur] lit. 'were to be taken in exchange for,' i.e. 'were the alternative for.' *Mutare* 'to barter' (cp. 18. 5 and 9), and so 'to take in exchange': cp. 53. 8 *pro metu gaudium mutatur*, 83. 1 *incerta pro certis mutare*.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

- 1 **rerum bellicarum**] gen. on the analogy of that which follows adjectives of knowledge or the opposite.  
**libertati**] so a dative is used with e.g. *caueo*, *consulo*, *prospicio* in quite a different sense from that which the acc. would give: Bradley's Arnold, 248.
- 2 **tamen**] tacitly he implied that the treaty must be declared void.  
**sociis et nomine Latino**] Intr. p. xxviii.  
**auxilia**] In lists of this kind *socii* regularly means *Italian* allies, and the term *auxilia* is reserved for the forces of the non-Italian peoples. See however Intr. p. xxix<sup>5</sup>.
- 3 **suo atque populi iniussu** etc.] a well known principle of Roman constitutional law, but one which their generals did not always take the trouble to explain to the foreign nations with whom they concluded what purported to be regular treaties: nor did the state of course resign the advantages which its generals had thus secured for it: the mere surrender of the general and his officers was hardly adequate, and was sometimes (e.g. in this case) dispensed with. Observe that here, as at 30. 1, the decision as to the cancelling of the agreement lies with the senate.
- 4 **conuenerat**] as we were told in 38. 9.  
**prouincia**] 13. 4 n.
- 5 **mederi**] for the inf. cp. 17. 1 n.  
**imperio**] 'discipline': cp. 44. 1.  
**ex**] denotes the stand-point. We should say 'with.'  
**copia rerum**] 'the means at his disposal': cp. 54. 9, 90. 1, 98. 3.

## CHAPTER XL.

- 1 **rogationem**] *lex* in 65. 5: cp. 32. 5 n.  
**promulgat**] the technical word for the giving notice by a magistrate that after the expiration of a certain time he will propose a bill, of which he now gives a description.  
**quaereretur**] 'an inquiry be held': cp. on 13. 8.  
**neglegisset**] The MSS. of S. shew traces of his use of *neglegi* as the perfect of *neglego*: the grammarian Diomedes recognises such a perfect as existing.



- 2 **partium invidia**] 'party hatred,' the gen. being subjective or objective.  
For *partes* cp. 41. 1, 73. 4.  
**quin...faterentur**] 'without admitting,' R. 1696.  
**per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant**] A characteristically vague expression. The Latins and other Italians could not take part in the voting. But they could influence it in various ways: many of them would be capitalists and wealthy traders, and others could help to cause riots and break up assemblies. Cp. also on 42. 1. [Latins seem to have had the privilege of voting in the *comitia*, but they all had to vote in a single one of the divisions, so that the power they exercised at them was a negligible quantity (Momms. St. R. 3. 643).]
- 3 **plebes**] for the order, cp. 13. 6 n.  
**lubido**] 'passion.'
- 4 **supra**] 25. 4, etc.  
**fugam**] 'panic'; this metaphorical use is rare. So we speak of a party being beaten all along the line.  
**trepida**] The confusion made it possible for such a mistake to be made.  
**rogarentur**] 29. 7.
- 5 **sed**] connects: 5. 5 n.  
**ex rumore**] i.e. the accused were at the mercy of hearsay evidence and the caprice of the mob (*ex* is 'in conformity with' as in 42. 4, 54. 5, 61. 3: cp. 38. 4 n.). We know from Cicero that Bestia, Sp. Albinus and Opimius (16. 2) were among the condemned.

## CHAPTER XLI.

- 1 **ceterum**] introduces a digression: so he often uses *sed*.  
**mos**] 'practice': we should say 'evil.'  
**partium popularium**] the democratic party; **factionum**, the various cliques of the aristocratic party (8. 1 n.). [Some edd. omit *popularium*, so that the whole phrase means 'party feeling and the clique system.']  
**quae**] refers to *rerum*, but is attracted to the gender of the predicate *prima*: cp. Cat. 7. 6 *eas divitias, eam bonam famam putabant*. So 75. 6, 85. 30 below, and see 79. 8 n.  
**ducunt**] 'deem': cp. 76. 6.
- 2 **Carthaginem deletam**] in 146 B.C.: 13. 4 n.  
**modeste**] 'discreetly,' neither side seeking undue power.  
**tractabant**] The phrase *senatus populusque Romanus* regularly

takes the sing. Here of course where the members are regarded separately the pl. was necessary, but in 111. 1 it is used with no apparent reason.

**gloriae]** obj. gen., as often after *certamen*: cp. too *contentio honorum*, Cic. Off. 1. 87.

**dominationis]** 'tyranny,' 'absolute power.'

3 **amant]** cp. 34. 1. The full construction is doubtless *quae fieri res sec. amant*.

4 **asperius]** worse than their former *res aduersae*.

5 **lubidinem]** 'selfishness'; **uortere**, 'to let it become': so *conuortere* in 70. 5.

6 **in]** 14. 11 n.

7 **belli]** locative, like *militiae*. In 49. 2 it is used exceptionally without *domi*; cp. on 14. 1.

**agitabatur]** 'the government was administered'; the impersonal use of the word is unusual, but imitated by Tac. Cp. 13. 8 n.

**gloriae]** 'chances of winning *gloria*': so *irae* 'fits of wrath,' *luctus* 'outbursts of grief.'

8 **confinis]** 'neighbour, bordering on his land.' Horace (O. 2. 18. 23 sqq.) describes the wealthy man as tearing up boundary stones and leaping over the dividing walls of the property of his own dependents. This wronging a man's family whilst he himself was campaigning was an old evil; cp. the order published according to Livy (2. 24. 6) in 495 B.C.: *ne quis militis donec in castris esset bona possideret aut uenderet*.

9 **modo modestiaque]** the former of definite acts, the latter of general character: but see on 1. 3.

**pensi]** is a partitive gen., *pensum* meaning 'what is weighed,' and then 'something weighty,' i.e. 'important.' Literally then the meaning is 'knew, or recognised, no importance (i.e. consideration), no tie.' Cp. R. 1301.

10 **ex nobilitate reperti]** the Gracchi.

**permixtio terrae]** 'convulsion of the earth,' 'earthquake': cp. the use of *permiscere* 'throw into confusion' 5. 2 n. The constitution tottered to its foundations.

## CHAPTER XLII.

1 **Gracchus]** Usually *Gracchi* would be written. For the men see 31. 7 and 16. 2 respectively.

**maiores**] their father Tiberius in Spain and Sardinia, whilst through their mother Cornelia they were grandsons of the elder Scipio.

**eo**] 'on that account.'

**socios ac nomen Lat.**] 40. 2; **equites Romanos**: the members of the *ordo equestris*, second only to the senatorial body: Intr. p. xxiii<sup>4</sup>. As the senators were forbidden to engage in trade, etc., the *equites*, as the next wealthiest class, undertook the work: they corresponded to our merchants and capitalists.

The *history* is, as so often in S., very inaccurate. The Latins did undoubtedly feel aggrieved at Tiberius' agrarian proposals, which in some way or other evidently injured them. Their protests were supported by the younger Scipio, who was thereupon assassinated by some member of the Gracchan party. (Of this S. discreetly says nothing.) But with regard to the *equites*, the truth is that Gaius gave them a number of privileges (e.g. the lucrative seats on the juries), and thus made them devoted adherents of his policy: it is absurd to talk of the senate's having estranged them from the plebs at this time.

**societatis**] 'share in their privileges.'

**tribunum**] of course refers to Tiberius. Gaius had been tribune in the successive years 123, 122, but at the time of his death he was only a member of the board of three appointed to superintend the founding of certain colonies, notably that of Lunonia on the site of Carthage.

**coloniis deducendis**] a dat. of work contemplated: R. 1156.

- 3 **bono**] is masculine: 'a good man would rather put up with defeat than resist wrong by a means that is likely to be a bad precedent': even if the Gracchi went too far, the nobles, had they been *boni*, would not have resisted unconstitutionally. [I cannot help thinking that *bono* might be neuter: 'to be carried away by a good tendency, as the G. were, is better than to punish a breach of the law in the dangerous way adopted by the nobles.']

- 4 **extinxit**] really suits even *fuga*: exile was civil death, and *caput* is used for 'civil rights' as well as 'life.'

**in relium**] = the commoner *in posterum*.

**pessum dedit**] 1. 4.

**dum...uolunt**] 'in their desire': 4. 9 n.

**alteri**] for the pl. denoting 'each party' see on 18. 12.

- 5 **studiis**] almost 'strife.'

**pro**] 9. 2 n.

**res**] as in 17. 1.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

- 1 **foedus...foedam]** seems an intentional play on words, characteristic of the colloquial tendency in S. After it, one may almost suspect *stipendiis faciundis non Graeca facundia* in 63. 3.  
**designati]** 27. 2. For the bearing of these words on *mense Ianuario* of 37. 3 see Intr. p. xv.  
**partiuerant]** For the active form see 17. 7 n. For the thing, cp. 27. 3.  
**quamquam]** without a verb is rare in good Latin: here, as *acri* is no doubt meant to give praise, the insertion of *quamquam* was essential.  
**aequabili]** 'unblemished.' Cicero (Balb. 11) says that in a certain law-suit the jury refused to inspect his account books rather than appear to doubt his bare word. Few Romans ever received such a tribute.
- 2 **alia omnia...ratus]** i.e. in other matters he recognised that he shared his powers with a colleague: the war he regarded as his own special task.
- 3 **arma]** by the side of *tela* (as in 51. 1, 66. 1) must mean defensive armour.  
**et cetera]** 1. 3 n.
- 4 **socii nomenque L.]** Intr. p. xxviii<sup>1</sup>.  
**ultro]** 8. 2 n.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

- 1 **proconsule]** Owing to the number of magistracies not having increased in proportion to the growth of public business a magistrate was often given a second year of office, to be devoted to duties outside Rome (usually as a general or as a governor). And again, even without this formality, a general (or governor) continued to hold office until the arrival of his successor. In such cases he was not allowed to keep his old title: consul or praetor became proconsul or propraeor: i.e. they were not real magistrates, but equivalent to (*pro*) magistrates.  
**ex]** 32. 3.  
**modestia]** 7. 4 n.
- 3 **et]** only balances the clause with the next one: it = 'both' and may be omitted in tr., or rendered by 'in the first place.'  
**aestiuorum tempus]** 'time available for a campaign.' The delay is of course that of 37. 2.

- laborare]** 'endure toil': cp. § 1 *neque laboris patiens*.
- 4 decreuerat]** For the tense cp. on 11. 2.
- odos]** 'sanitary considerations.' [But none of our good MSS. have this archaic form, which is read on the strength of the MSS. of Fronto (writer of the 2nd century A.D.) who quotes most of this chapter. How little our MSS. can be trusted in such matters appears from the fact that Servius tells us S. almost always wrote *labos*: yet in only two of the four places in the extant works where the word occurs is this spelling supported by any good MS.]
- 5 muniebantur]** The importance of spadework was fully recognised by the Romans. Their armies never halted for the night without forming the regular entrenchment to which they gave the name *castra*. As Mommsen has observed, it gave them power to combine the offensive and the defensive: they fought under the ramparts of their camp as under the walls of some fortress. The excellence of the arrangement was greatly admired by their Greek contemporaries (Polybius and Philip of Macedon, for instance). The phrase recurs 45. 2, 75. 7, 82. 1, 100. 4.
- deducebantur]** to their posts.
- diu]** 38. 3 n.
- pecoris et mancipiorum]** gen. of material or definition.
- mutare]** 'barter' (as in 18. 5 etc.), *uino* being abl. of price.
- frumentum...uendere, panem...mercari]** the corn was not ground or baked. And they did not care about the trouble of baking their own bread. Cp. *coctum cibum* in 45. 2.
- in dies]** 'to meet each day's requirements,' for which *in diem* is more usual, *in dies* being generally used to mean 'every day' in sentences containing a comparative or the like: Bradley's Arnold, 328 (c). Cp. however 74. 1.
- amplius]** 'besides': cp. *felices ter et amplius etc.*

## CHAPTER XLV.

- 1 conperior]** The deponent form recurs in 108. 3; it is an archaism, used also by Tacitus (in A. 4. 20, where he clearly has this passage in mind).
- ambitionem]** *Ambitio* and its derivatives are often used of officers who strive to be popular with their troops: cp. 64. 5, 96. 3, 100. 5. Here it really means 'indulgence,' allowing them license in the hope of winning their favour.
- moderatum]** 'he steered.'

- 2 **namque** etc.] observe that the acc. and inf. continues.  
**quisquam**] is more emphatic than the more usual *quis*, after *ne*:  
 cp. *ne quispiam* below.  
**ceteris**] is neuter: other doubtful practices he did not entirely do  
 away with (*sustulisse*), but strictly limited them.  
**arte**] is of course the adverb.  
**transuorsis**] lit. 'cross,' i.e. across country.  
**ac**] 15. 1 n.  
**munire**] governs *castra*: see on 44. 5.  
**cum signis frequentes**] 'in a body along with their standards,' each  
 in his proper *maniple* or company, close to its *signum* (Intr. p. xxv<sup>3</sup>).  
 [In Liu. 3. 24 *frequentem ad signa sine ullo commeatu* the meaning  
 seems rather 'regular.']

## CHAPTER XLVI.

- 1 **ubi...accepit, simul...factus**] Note the variation.  
 2 **suppliciis**] branches of laurel or olive, in token that they came to  
 sue for peace.  
 3 **Metello**] the dative as often with *cognitus* and kindred expressions:  
 cp. 75. 2 *Metello comperita*. It is really a dat. of advantage or possession,  
 as is shewn by the parallel phrase *comperitum habere* and such a passage  
 as 70. 2 *ex quo illi gloria opesque inuentae*.  
**ingenio mobili**] for change to abl. see on 1. 1.  
 4 **alium ab alio**] 12. 2 n.  
**diuorsos**] 'apart,' lit. 'separated': cp. Cat. 20. 5 *iam antea diuorsi*  
*audistis* where it corresponds to the *singuli* and is opposed to the  
*uniuorsi* of the beginning of the chapter.  
**postquam...cognouit**] as my punctuation shews, belongs to *multa*  
*pollicendo*: we must insert a connecting particle before it.  
**maxime**] 14. 3.  
**procedat...traderent**] The main vb. being in the historic present,  
 either tense is justifiable in itself: the employment of *both* is unusual and  
 must be due to love of change. Cp. Cat. 32. 2 *mandat, quibus rebus*  
*possent, opes confirment*.  
**quae ex uoluntate forent**] i.e. what would please him. *Ex* as in  
 38. 4. For the sense, cp. 47. 4, 48. 1 which shews that these messages  
 were friendly in tone.  
 5 **infesto**] i.e. acting in a hostile way, 'with all the terrors of war,'  
 as it were.

- contra...*faciem*] cp. 20. 1 n. *Facies* here really = *solita facies*.  
*conneatum*] 'provisions of all kinds.'
- 6 *munito*] protected on all four sides, as § 7 shews.  
*ostentui*] sc. *esse* (so 61. 1, 69. 1).  
*insidiis*] dative; cp. 70. 3 and R. 1156.  
*[temptari*: the good mss. concur in *temptare*, which is just possible.  
 S. may have personified *signa*: cp. such phrases as *quæ res secundæ amant* 41. 3. And the expression in 53. 8 is far stranger.]
- 7 C. Marius] of whom more in ch. 63. For the cavalry here distinguished from the *equites auxilarii* see Intr. p. xxiv.  
*curabat*] 'commanded': so 57. 2, 60. 1 and 5, 100. 2.  
*auxilarios equites*] Intr. p. xxix<sup>b</sup>.  
*legionum, cohortium*] The legions and (allied or auxiliary) cohorts (Intr. p. xxix) form the main body, which is protected (§ 6) by light and mounted troops on all sides. For the tribunes and prefects see Intr. pp. xxii, xxviii.  
*cum eis permixti uelites* etc.] If Livy is right, it was for this purpose that the *uelites* were first instituted: see 26. 4. 4 sqq. where he ends up with *institutum ut uelites in legionibus essent: auctorem peditum equiti immiscendorum centurionem Q. Nauium ferunt*. Intr. p. xxiv.  
*equitatus*] is nom., 'bodies of cavalry.'
- 8 *gerens*] with *pacem*, just as they said *amicitiam gerere*. But of course its use here is due to considerations of brevity.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

- 1 *celebratum*] 'frequented.'
- 2 *si*] is occasionally used after verbs of trying: cp. Liu. 1. 57. 2 *temptata res est si...capi Ardea posset*.  
*opportunitatis*] depends on *gratia*. [But only one ms. reads it: the others have *opportunitates*, and *all* have the *et* after *gratia*; its position after *paterentur* is due to Wirz, and without this change the *si* clause is clumsy and indeed meaningless.]  
*conportare*] For the inf. see on 17. 1.  
*quod res monebat*] 'his position required': more clearly 56. 1 *quod negotium poscebat*.  
*et*] as in 44. 3 n.  
*rebus*] is explained as dative after *munimento fore, iam* going closely with *paratis*, 'the provisions etc., supplies, he had got already,' as opposed to what he hoped to get. As Italians they would naturally be ready to help.

- 3 modo] only emphasizes *impensius*: cp. its use with imperatives in colloquial Latin (*i modo*, 'just you go').
- 4 dimittebat...expectare] In 30. 3 the historic inf. comes first.  
promissa] i.e. their fulfilment, as in Vergil's *sua nunc promissa repositi* (Aen. 12. 2).

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

- 1 alienata] 'passed into hostile hands,' not 'become a foe,' as 66. 2 shews.
- 3 possederat] 16. 5.  
a meridie] For the prep. cp. 14. 10 n.  
tractu pari] sc. as the river; 'in the same direction,' 'parallel to it.'  
ab] 'on the side of,' 'so far as...was concerned': an extension of the use just noted.  
sed] is clearly only connective; 5. 5 n.  
quasi] which here means *ferè* (see 50. 3), belongs to *medio*.  
inmensum] which is practically a noun here, is used to denote simply great extent: cp. 92. 5.  
pertingens] 'extending'—towards the river, at right angles to the line of both river and mountain: cp. 49. 1 n.  
humi] partitive gen., depending on the (virtual) nouns *arido atque harenoso*: cp. 21. 2 n. The abl. is not local (S. would put *in*), but half instrumental, half that of accompanying circumstances: the meaning is the ground allows them to grow.
- 4 media] 'which lies between,' bounded on three sides by the river, the *collis*, and the *mons*.  
cultoribus] may be abl. on the analogy of that which follows adjectives of fulness. But for *pecore* it would doubtless have been preceded by *a*.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

- 1 igitur] resumptive, *not* 'therefore': 19. 7 n.  
transuorso itinere] is a puzzling phrase. Apparently it means simply 'cross-wise,' i.e. across the *tractus* of 48. 3, at right angles to the boundary lines which the river and the *mons* set to the *planities*. It lay *parallel* to M.'s route from the *mons* to the river (and on his right: see § 6).  
docuimus] he certainly mentioned it in the previous chapter, but said nothing of its direction.



**extenuata]** 'extending his formation.'

**ageret]** dependent jussive: cp. 57. 2 *imperat ubi quisque curaret.*

**suos conlocat]** is strange, as *suos* means the before mentioned *omnis equit. et pedites*. Is the whole sentence a contracted form of 'marches with them to a position nearer the mountain, and there stations his line'? Anyhow *aciem instruit* or *consedit* would be more obvious.

- 2 **turmas, manipulos]** Roman names for cavalry and infantry divisions of Numidian troops: see on 12. 3. It is however possible that Iug. did use the Roman system: see Intr. p. xxx<sup>6</sup>.

**cum eis certamen fore]** here *obtestatur* becomes a verb of saying, and takes its construction: cp. 8. 2 n.

**omnia]** is explained by (1) *locum*, (2) the substantival clauses introduced by *ut* and *ne*.

**belli]** locative: 41. 7 n.

- 3 **inuadere]** is governed by *parati intentique essent*: *paratus* regularly takes an inf.

**confirmaturum]** 'be the consummation of.'

- 4 **aliu alio modo]** 'each in a different way,' 12. 2 n.

**conspicatur]** must be passive, though the verb is almost always deponent: see on 17. 7. [Here again our MSS. read the easier *conspicitur*, but grammarians of the 4th and 6th century expressly tell us that S. wrote *conspicatur* here.] For the indicative see on 12. 5.

- 5 **equi]** named first, as most difficult to conceal.

**neque...et]** 1. 5 n.

**humilitate]** abl. of cause, shewing why they were imperfectly covered.

**incerti]** of persons with this passive force, is rare, but Livy has the usage. Tr. 'so disposed that it could not be known,' or, freely, 'making it hard to tell.'

**atque signa]** is boldly added instead of *cum signis*. Cp. 101. 4 *Sulla...ipse atque Mauros inuadunt*. See also 66. 2 n.

- 6 **ordinibus]** cp. 101. 2 *nullo ordine commutato*, which suggests that *ordo* has its not uncommon meaning of 'company' (maniple or century: Intr. p. xxv<sup>8</sup>). Tr. generally 'changing formation.'

**in dextero latere]** with *aciem instruxit*: where the right flank of the marching column had been was now a battle line, facing the enemy.

**triplicibus subsidiis]** implies a main line and three others. *Triplex acies* was a common form of array, and it is hard to see why it was here departed from.

inter manipulos] i.e. in the intervals which the Roman battle order left between each fighting unit.

pauca... milites hortatus] for the double acc. cp. 79. 1 and R. 1122. transuersis principiis] M., to continue his march, would simply give the order 'Left turn! Quick march!' This would bring his men facing the river again: what had been the left wing of the fighting order of § 6 above would be in front, what had been the centre would come next, and the right wing would come last (hence 50. 2). As they marched along, the extreme right hand file of the column would be composed of those who, if the enemy attacked (when the word 'Right turn' would be given and the column become a battle array: cp. Tac. A. 2. 16 *ordo agminis in aciem insisteret*) would form the first fighting line, or *principia* (cp. 50. 2). But at present the *principia* presented to their foes not their front, but their (right) sides. The phrase *transuersis principiis*, then, I believe refers to this and means, lit. 'with (what was to be) his front rank sideways (to the foe)': the use of *transuersus* in § 1 and in 50. 1 seems quite the same. [The commentators, so far as I have seen, have not fairly grappled with this phrase. There still remains the difficulty that, so far as I understand the passage, *all* the lines, the *subsidia* as well as the *principia*, would be marching in this same way, presenting their flank to the foe. Why then are the *principia* alone mentioned?]

## CHAPTER L.

- 1 **Rutilium]** Intr. p. xiv. He is famous for having, when on the staff of the governor of *Asia*, repressed the extortions of the tax-farmers: they revenged themselves by accusing him, on his return, of plundering the provincials and actually secured his conviction. He selected for his place of exile the town of Smyrna, the alleged scene of his misdeeds.  
**transuersis proeliis]** 'attacks on his flank.'
- 2 **pro]** 9. 2 n.  
**post principia]** seems to mean between the *principia* and the first line of *subsidia*, ready to command in the right place, if an attack came. In the *march* he would be rather 'beside' than 'behind' the *principia*.  
**principes facti]** see on 49 § 6 (last note).
- 3 **ubi extremum etc.]** so that Iug.'s men overlapped what would become the Roman right.  
**duum]** as in 91. 3, 106. 5.  
**qua]** Remember the gender of *mons*, and tr. 'at the point where.'

- foret] the subject is *mons*.  
 4 adesse] 'ride up.'  
 ludificati] 'bewildered': 36. 2.  
 modo] = *soli* (cp. 75. 7, 76. 5, 78. 4): only they, not the enemy.  
 5 This section explains *neque...feriundi aut conserundi manum copia erat*.  
 alius alio] 12. 2 n.  
 diuorsi] 'scattering,' 12. 5 n.  
 6 numero priores] refers to the Numidians, and is causal.  
 eā] 38. 6 n.  
 uero] often added by S. to demonstratives, marking the apodosis:  
 cp. 58. 3.

## CHAPTER LI.

- 1 foeda atque miserabilis] S. is fond of an enumeration consisting of two unconnected pairs, of which one alone (here *foeda, miserabilis*) has its members connected. Just below we have three of these pairs, of which the last alone contains a connecting particle (*hostes atque ciues*). Cp. also 11. 8 n.  
 arma, tela] 43. 3 n.  
 2 erat] the ind. as in 12. 5.  
 3 legionarias] is added because *cohors* unqualified regularly means an auxiliary cohort, though even in this sense *cohors* often takes *auxiliaria*, or the gen. *sociorum* (58. 5).  
 4 illis] = *vobis* of Or. Rect.: cp. 62. 1.  
 5 ne Iugurtha quidem] even though he was at present victorious. Or the *ne...quidem* may mean 'not...either,' as often in good writers.  
 hostibus...retinere] he dealt with the enemy in two ways. The second way is 'to hamper them by attacking them with missiles.'

## CHAPTER LII.

- 3 die] partitive gen.: so 106. 2 *diei vesper*. For the form, cp. 97. 3 and R. 357 (c).  
 aduorso colle] 'straight up the hill.'  
 euadunt] 'break through.'  
 4 ignara] 18. 6.  
 tutata] for the neut. pl. cp. 38. 8 n.  
 5 supra] 49. 1, where the *ipse propior* etc. shews that B. was nearer the river than Iug. was.

- ubique] 'at every point.'  
 explorare] the inf. after *remitto* is peculiar, but based on its common use after *omitto* (e.g. 35. 8).  
 6 animo] abl. of place or respect.  
 uacuom] 'free from anxiety.'  
 arte] 'in close order.'  
 quo] though there is no comparative: 37. 4 n.

## CHAPTER LIII.

- 1 ex inproviso] *de* is the prep. usually employed with this word.  
 aequabilem] it kept its shape: almost 'compact.'  
 properantes] 22. 1 n.  
 3 fugam faciunt] generally = *fugant*, not, as here, *fugiunt*.  
 5 laetique] There were two circumstances that might have led to their going to meet him (if they went at all) otherwise than *instructi intentique*. First they had had a tiring day; secondly they had defeated their enemies and were 'flushed with victory.' The conjunction of the two conditions of weariness and joy is certainly awkward, but S. will sacrifice much to secure brevity and the reader's attention. [*Lassique* which is generally read, from inferior MSS., seems too otiose, fond as S. is of amplifying.]  
 intenti] 'on the alert.'  
 7 primo] S. meant to end up with *deinde...equites rem explorauerunt*.  
 inter se] we must say 'from each other': so 53. 6. Observe that the Romans had no pronoun meaning 'each other': cp. also 79. 4, 98. 3, R. 2306.  
 aduentare] the subj. is of course the two parties, under Rutilius and Metellus. Each gave the other the impression that enemies were approaching.  
 alteri apud alteros] for the plural see 18. 12 n.  
 paene...ni...explorauissent] 31. 1 n.: 'almost...(and would actually have...).'
- 8 mutatur] 38. 10 n. [All good MSS. read the much simpler *exortum*, but the famous grammarian Priscian quotes the passage thus, to illustrate this use of *mutare*.]  
 ad caelum fert] 'praises to the skies,' a common expression recurring at 92. 2: sometimes *laudibus* is added.  
 detrectant] the cause of the action described by the verb is made its grammatical subject, a strange use. Cp. 46. 6 n.

## CHAPTER LIV.

- 1 **proellis]** fought by his own force and that of Rutilius.  
**more militiae]** Such gifts were the *coronae* (e.g. the *civica* awarded to the man who saved a Roman's life in battle), various decorations (such as the *phalerae*, consisting of metal discs strung on a piece of leather, for the adornment of horse and man: so 85. 29), spears (*ib.*), and *vexilla* (*ib.*).  
**sint]** All MSS. read *sunt*, but S.'s love for the ind. (Intr. p. xvii) would perhaps hardly venture so far as this. Yet cp. 63. 1, 106. 3.  
**gerant]** directly depends on *hortatur*: so 56. 2, and cp. on 28. 1. For the transition to acc. and inf. it is perhaps hardly necessary to refer again to 8. 2 n.
- 2 **gentium]** lit. 'in the world': R. 1294.  
**agitaret]** with *ubi* is intransitive, with the meaning given in 18. 9 n., but governs *quid* in quite another sense.  
**ut sese uictus gereret]** 'how he was behaving after (almost 'bearing') his defeat.'
- 3 **numero]** abl. of respect.  
**cultorem]** here means, first, 'tiller,' and then 'one who practises.' Tr. generally, 'accustomed to.'
- 4 **ea gratia]** *Gratia* is a mere variety for *causa*: cp. 80. 4 [or we may take it in its usual sense and explain *ea* as=*eius rei* (36. 1 n.: cp. § 6 below)].  
**fuga]** 'rout' as in 39. 5.
- 5 **ex]** 'in subservience to...': 40. 5 n.  
**detrimento]** may be parsed 'as abl. of price or that of attendant circumstances.'
- 6 **temere]** 'carelessly.'  
**ea formidine]** 36. 1 n.
- 7 **suis]** 9. 2 n.
- 8 **quippe]** must not be taken with *cuius* which is antecedent to the subject of *cogebatur*.  
**sua]** 'favourable,' as *alienis* shews: so 61. 1, 66. 1.
- 9 **ex copia]** 39. 5 n.  
**ignoratus]** 'escaping notice.'

## CHAPTER LV.

- 1 **gereret]** For the zeugmatic (28. 6 n.) use cp. 85. 47 *meque uosque iuxta geram*.  
**tamen]** refers to *aduorso loco*.  
2 **supplicia]**=*supplicationes* as in a few other passages of S., in 66. 2 of prayers to men: Intr. p. xvii.  
**agere]** used like *agito* (18. 9 n.) here and in § 7 below, 85. 35, 89. 7, 100. 1, 101. 6. In 56. 4 we have the full phrase *aetatem agere*.  
3 **necubi]** The old form of *ubi* was doubtless *quobi*, which became *cubi* (just as *quom* became *cum*). Divide this word then into *ne* 'lest' and *cubi* 'anywhere' (cp. the use of *quis* for 'any one' after *ne*). So *sicubi*.  
**opportunus fieret]** 'expose himself.'  
4 **insidias]** those of 54. 9.  
5 **praeda]** = the later *praedatione*, 'act of plundering.' The gerund would be used by most writers.  
6 **inter se]** 'from each other' (53. 7). The subject is of course Metellus and Marius.  
8 **aliis, post aliis]** Before the first *aliis* we must supply *primum*: cp. 18. 7 n.

## CHAPTER LVI.

- 1 **in ea parte etc.]** seems strange; how could a city possibly be an *arx regni* except in the district where it was situated? If S. had qualified *arcem* by some word like *praecipuam*, 'the chief stronghold,' the phrase would be intelligible.  
2 **quae parabantur]** From this is easily supplied the *ea* (retained acc.) which *edoctus* requires: cp. 58. 1, 63. 1, and for the acc. 85. 33, 112. 2.  
**defendant]** 54. 1 n. Observe that here S. does not pass at once into the acc. and inf., as there and in § 4 below, but inserts *pollicetur*.  
**fallere nequibat]** Iug. was their only hope: from Rome they could expect nothing but punishment: see 62. 7.  
3 **ex itinere]** we should say 'on the journey,' but the Latin is really better, as *itinere* is Metellus' journey to Zama: Marius was detached from the main column.  
4 **fortunam...dare]** cp. on § 2 above.  
5 **signa inferre]** 'advance against Iug.'  
6 **sustentati]** 'though they were kept together.'

## CHAPTER LVII.

- 1 **Zamam]** where of course he found Metellus by this time arrived.
- 2 **pro]** 9. 2 n.  
**curaret]** dependent jussive or deliberative: cp. 109. 1, R. 1612. For the word, see on 46. 7.
- 4 **pro ingenio]** 'according to his temperament': cp. 58. 2.  
**glande]** the collective out of sheer desire for variety. These leaden sling-bullets have been found in Greece and Italy: sometimes they bear inscriptions such as 'Take this' or 'Hit Pompey' (the enemy's general: *pete Pompeium*).  
**in manibus]** like *cominus*: cp. 89. 2 *in manus venturum*.
- 5 **ardentia]** goes with *sudes*, *pila*, *picem*. But many of the *pila* at all events would not carry fire. [Herzog's conjecture *ardenti* gets over this difficulty: we have to imagine then vessels filled with burning pine wood (? *taeda* = 'resin'), pitch and sulphur: cp. Caes. B.C. 2. 11 *cupas taeda ac pice refertas*. But the position of *ardenti* is very objectionable. Comparing 60. 6 I would read *picem sulphure mixtam et tela ardentia*.]
- 6 **tormentis]** the artillery of the ancients, divided, strictly, into *cata-pultae* (which are referred to here) and *ballistae* (which threw stones). It is rather curious that we find no mention here of *arietes* as in 76. 6.  
**parique periculo...erant]** The ablatives are those of quality—the use with *periculo* is a little bold. S. means that brave man and coward were equally in danger, but when the brave man fell, in the thick of the fight, he won glory, which those *qui procul manserant* could not hope for. It is a bit of cynicism that quite reminds one of S.'s admirer Tacitus.

## CHAPTER LVIII.

- 1 **remissis]** the other abl. is involved in the *qui* clause: cp. on 56. 2.
- 2 **pro]** 57. 4.
- 3 **amplius]** is not followed by *quam*, nor yet does it take the abl.: cp. 68. 3, 105. 3, R. 1273. But contrast 76. 1.  
**nominis]** 'honour.'  
**quam alii]** supply *cepere*, *alii* being = *ceteri* (*Romani*) as often.  
**pauci...frustrari:]** their enemies were so numerous they could hardly miss. The passive implies the archaic active form *frustrare*: 17. 7 n.  
**adcessissent]** The subj. appears to be that of repeated action—the only ex. of it in S., unless we explain *iussissetis* in 14. 10 thus.

- atque]** This is not a case of what is referred to on 11. 8: really the enumeration consists of only two members, *fundere atque fugare* forming a single phrase.
- 4 a tergo]** i.e. from the camp which of course lay behind the storming party.
- ad se uorsum]** 19. 3 is the only passage in S. where *uorsus, -um* do not take *in* or *ad*: cp. 69. 1.
- esse]** The subject ('the fugitives') is easily supplied from *fugam*.
- 5 cohortibus sociorum]** Intr. p. xxix.

## CHAPTER LIX.

- 1 aduentus]** 'means of approach,' so that the words are equivalent to 'where he must approach': cp. 101. 11 *qua uisus erat*.
- agitare]** 18. 9 n. (but 55. 4 *praesidium agitabant*).
- proxuma]** sc. to the gates.
- 2 ex occulto]** no doubt means that he came up stealthily: he did not wish the storming party to notice what was going on.
- 3 cladem]** 'havoc' in the Roman ranks.
- facient]** After *quiuissent* one would expect *fecissent*, but the impf. perhaps denotes *continuance*.
- illi]** the cavalry. For *solet (fieri)* see on 15. 5, for the omission of *primum* before *sequi*, on 18. 7.
- peditibus]** is an instrumental abl.
- hostis]** 'their enemy' (not 'the enemy'), the Romans.
- uictos dare]** = *uincere, dare* having the force of *reddere*. Cp. Liu.
- 8. 6 stratas legiones Latinorum dabo.**

## CHAPTER LX.

- 1 eo]** 'against that part of the wall.'
- obpugnare aut parare]** cp. *festinare, parare* 76. 4.
- alteri alteros]** 18. 12 n. For the thought cp. Liu. 2. 6. 9 *neuter, dum hostem uulneraret, sui protegendū corporis memor*.
- 3 equestre]** of ch. 59.
- 4** The description seems suggested by the famous one by Thucydides (7. 71) of the battle in the harbour of Syracuse: cp. esp. Thuc. § 3: 'Those who chanced to see their side getting the best of it would be elated...but those who gazed on a part that was being routed cried out and lamented... § 4. Others, their attention riveted on some evenly



balanced phase of the battle were in a terrible state of mind, and in their nervousness actually swayed their bodies in accord with the expectation of the moment.'

**uti quaeque Iugurthae res erant]** lit. 'according as each (momentary) phase of Iug.'s fortunes presented itself.' Tr. 'as his fortunes kept varying,' and for *res* cp. 32. 5 n.

**animaduorteres]** 10. 4 n.

**sicuti]** is sometimes used by S. as the equivalent of *quasi*.

**niti]** of excited straining of the body.

**uitabundi]** cp. 101. 9. As S. once makes the word take an acc., as though it were a ptc., it may very well govern *tela* here.

6 **studio]** 'interest in.'

**egressi]** 'climbing': 93. 2.

**summa]** the pl. is rare except in poetry: the sing. in 93. 2.

7 **unae atque alterae]** 'one after another,' as in 93. 2. For *unae* in the pl. cp. R. vol. 1, p. 443, and note that *alterae* is not changed to *binæ*.

**adfiecti]** 'dashed to the ground.'

#### CHAPTER LXI.

1 **inceptum]** is a noun, and *esse* has to be supplied (46. 6 n.).

**suo]** as in 54. 8.

**ab]** even with the name of a town, as the *neighbourhood* of Zama is meant. M. had not got inside the town. Cp. R. 1259.

**se]** refers to the subject of the main clause, though here its own clause is not in the subjunctive: so 66. 1, 88. 4, 103. 2. See R. 2267.

**loco]** 'position,' as in 76. 2. Elsewhere (e.g. 57. 1) *natura* gives the same meaning.

2 **ceterum]** from *ceterus*, which S. uses in the sing. (e.g. 89. 6, 92. 5): cp. his use of *plerusque*.

**prouinciam]** = Africa (13. 4 n.). For the construction of *conlocare* with *in* and the acc. see on 14. 1. Note also that *prouincia q. p. e.* stands for *partem prouinciae q. p. e.*, for which compare 89. 7 *omni Africa quae*, 78. 5 *frequentem Numidiam*, and Cicero's use (Mil. 7) of *ea oratio* for *ea pars orationis*. See also 23. 2 n.

3 **ex]** 40. 5 n.

**procedebat]** 20. 5 n.

**tendere]** like nets: a common metaphor in Latin.

4 **Bomilcare]** for this man see ch. 35.

- 5 **tradidisset**] = *tradideris* of Or. Rect. (8. 1 n.). The acc. and inf. of course depends on *fide data*.  
**ingenio infido**] abl. of quality; see on 1. 1.  
**per condiciones**] 'by the terms.' We should rather say 'lest one of the terms should require his surrender.'

## CHAPTER LXII.

- 1 **liberisque**] cp. 75. 1.  
**captos occisos**] unconnected: 14. 11 n.  
**illo**] 51. 4 n.  
**sibi consulant**] 'take measures for their own safety.'
- 3 **tradere**] of course = *tradit* of Or. Rect.: 'he hereby, through ourselves, hands to you.'
- 4 **consilium**] 29. 5 n. The summoning of all available senators to such a meeting is not very often mentioned: it is done however, not only by the aristocrat Metellus, but also by the democratic Marius (104. 1). Pompey's counter-senate at Thessalonica would stand on a similar footing.
- 5 **more maiorum**] refers to *consili decreto*: there were none of the private interviews that occurred when Bestia was in command (29. 5).  
**pondo**] is a curious example of the way in which the real force of a word becomes forgotten (cp. *sestertium*). From such expressions as *coronam auream, libram pondo, decrevit* ('a pound in weight') they came to write *quinque pondo* for *quinque libras pondo*. The practical effect is that *pondo* becomes the equivalent of 'pounds.' R. 1210.  
**aliquantum**] 'a considerable quantity,' a common meaning of the word: cp. 74. 3, 79. 4.
- 7 **in Mauretaniam**] We should say *in* not *into*, but the other is the regular Latin idiom. So they write *Roma ab auunculo* 'from his uncle at Rome': see Bradley's Arnold 315.
- 8 **igitur**] the repeated demands alarmed him.  
**ad imperandum**] 'for orders.' This phrase forms an exception to the general usage, which requires that the subject of the gerund (here Metellus) should be, either strictly or logically, the subject of the sentence. Roby, vol. 2, pref. lxvi.  
**digna**] absolutely, 'his deserts': cp. 79. 1 *non indignum uidetur memorare*.
- 9 **cum...duceret...reputaret**] turn by participles, 'thinking...reflecting.'  
**casus**] a rare metaphorical use like our own 'fall,' 'downfall.'

*praesidiis*] 'means of defence'—the elephants, horses, arms, money and men of §§ 5, 6.

- 10 *de prouinciis consultus*] according to the Sempronian law (27. 3 n.). For *consultus* see on 15. 2.

*Metello decreuerat*] This is not strictly accurate. What they were required to do by the law was to fix what provinces should belong to the forthcoming consuls. In this case they abstained from naming Numidia as one of those provinces, thereby prolonging M.'s term of office, as a general or governor kept his power until his successor was named. Cp. 73. 7 n.

## CHAPTER LXIII.

- 1 *ageret*] jussive subj. = imperative of Or. Rect. The object is to be derived from *quae agitabat*: see on 56. 2. Most writers would have put *agitaret*, but S. affects the ind.: Intr. p. xvii.

- 2 *abunde erant*] so elsewhere in S., and the younger Pliny. S. is fond of using adverbs with *esse*: see on 85. 7 and 87. 4 and cp. the frequent *frustra esse* (e.g. 7. 6, 71. 5, 73. 7).

*domi*] in dealing with his fellow citizens.

*modicus*] 'unambitious': cp. 85. 1.

- 3 *sed*] introduces the digression as to M.'s history: cp. Cat. 18. 1, 50. 3. The idea may be, 'but I forgot to tell you': cp. however what is said on 5. 5.

*Arpini*] is curiously placed: of course it goes with both participles.

*stipendiis faciundis*] He began at the siege of Numantia (7. 2 n.).

*Graeca facundia*] Cp. 85. 32 where he says himself *neque litteras Graecas didici* and Mommsen, R. H. 3 p. 444: 'declamatory exercises (in Latin) on the current themes of the Greek schools became a permanent ingredient in the education of Roman youth, and contributed their part to educate the very boys as forensic and political players and stifle in the bud all earnest and true eloquence.'

*munditiis*] 'elegance.' He was no 'gilded popinjay,' to use the diction of a later century.

- 4 *tribunatum militarem a populo*] Intr. p. xxii.

*facile*] i.e. when his exploits were mentioned. [But this is not very clear writing, and *factis* or *fama*, the conjectures of Palmerius and Scheindler respectively, would greatly improve matters.]

*per omnis tribus*] all the electoral divisions voted for him. There were 35 of these *tribus*, into which the whole area of Italy was divided.

- 5 ab] 'starting from.' He held the tribunate of the plebs and the praetorship, governing Further Spain as propraetor.  
 potestatibus] as in 85. 9.  
 ampliore] sc. *potestate*.  
 quam] stands for *quam ea erat quam*.
- 6 id locorum] of time as in 72. 2 and often in Livy: cp. *post ea loci* 102. 1.  
 nam] explains the use of the phrase *ad id locorum* to qualify *talis*.  
 ambitione praeceps datus est] After becoming the tool of the unprincipled Saturninus and Glaucia in 100 B.C., his ambition plunged the state into civil war. For when, in 88 B.C., he got the command against Mithridates transferred to himself from Sulla, the latter marched with an army upon Rome and Marius fled into Africa. On his return thence, after Sulla's departure for the east, he joined Cinna in the siege of Rome and upon its reduction took a bloody vengeance upon his opponents, but died soon afterwards in 86 B.C.  
 adpetere] seems used quite wantonly for the regular *petere* (64. 1). Wirz says it means 'take steps to secure,' not 'come forward as candidate,' but this is very doubtful.  
 alios magistratus plebs] we should say '*whilst* the plebs conferred the other offices': see on 31. 11.  
 inter se per manus] 'from hand to hand to each other.'
- 7 nouos] 4. 7 n.  
 egregiis factis] abl. of quality, parallel to *clarus*: see on 1. 1.

## CHAPTER LXIV.

- 1 igitur] resumes, after §§ 3—7 of the last chapter: cp. 19. 7 n.  
 intendere] 25. 10 n.  
 quo...hortabatur] the same pregnant use (*ire* or *ut iret* is omitted) in 75. 7 *quo praeceperat*.  
 atque alia] 11. 8 n.  
 superabant] 'were present in abundance,' as in 70. 2 it means 'present in excess'—both common uses of the word.
- 2 mirari] 'express surprise': 15. 2 n.  
 praua] either generally 'out of place,' or specially of ambition: Tac. A. 3. 56 *praua spes*.  
 res] 'fortunes,' as in 33. 2.  
 caueret] with the infinitive is very rare in prose: Cicero however uses it once in a letter. See on 17. 1.

- 3 potuisset] = *potuero* of Or. Rect.  
 per] 'without hindrance from,' as in *per me licet*: see on 33. 3. Tr.  
 'as soon as the claims of.....allowed.'
- 4 satis mature] 'it would be soon enough.'  
 contubernio] Intr. p. xxii.  
 uiginti] M. would have to wait 23 years longer!
- 5 quod modo...foret] limiting subj. (R. 1692), 'provided it was....'  
 For *ambitosum* see on 45. 1.  
 criminose...et magnifice] i.e. blaming his chief and praising himself,  
 as the next two sentences explain.  
 trahi] *bellum* is easily supplied from *bello* above.  
 inanis] denotes a vain, pompous, frivolous character: it is much the  
 same as *uanus* (cp. 38. 1).  
 regiae superbiae] 1. 1 n.
- 6 illis] the traders.  
 firmiora] 'more likely to be based on fact.'  
 animo] dative of person etc. judging: R. 1148.

## CHAPTER LXV.

- 1 Mastanabalis filius] as Iugurtha was himself: 5. 7.  
 secundum heredem] If the *heres primus* could not or would not  
 take up the inheritance it would fall to the person whom the will would  
 name as *heres secundus*. Here Gauda had been named in case Micipsa's  
 sons and Iugurtha died without heirs.  
 mente...inminuta] is parallel to *confectus*: 1. 1 n.
- 2 petenti] takes first an *ut* clause, and then the acc. *turmam*: cp. on  
 104. 2.  
 more regum] goes with *poneret*: see on 13. 6. *Poneret* stands for  
*ponere liceret*, 'might be allowed to set....'  
 equitum Romanorum] Intr. p. xxiii.  
 eorum] goes with *foret*, 'belonged to those.'  
 foret] The subjunctive shews that S. is quoting M.'s reason, the  
 clause being in virtual Or. Obl.  
 populus Romanus reges appellauisset] 14. 2 n.  
 eos] those who might be selected for the purpose.
- 3 anxium] 'in his chagrin': cp. 82. 3 *anxie laturum*. Sometimes it  
 denotes jealousy, as perhaps in 82 l.c.  
 in imperatorem] depends on *poenas petat*.  
 secunda] The word is really an old participle of *sequor* and

means 'following.' So here M.'s words followed the bent of G.'s mind: we may tr. 'suitable (to his frame of mind)': cp. Liu. 2. 38. 1 *secunda irae uerba*.

*occisus foret...missus foret*] 8. 1 n.

- 4 *milites et negotiatores*] in apposition to *equites Romanos*, of whom they represent two classes. For the traders, see on 42. 1, for the soldiers Intr. p. xxiii.

*alios...plerosque*] also in apposition to *equites Romanos*: M.'s words influenced some of them, hope (cp. 64. 6) many others.

- 5 *honestissima*] bringing him honour, almost 'flattering': they urged his claims (*suffragatio* means here 'canvassing,' 'recommendation') in the most eulogistic terms.

*legem Mamiliam*] see ch. 40.

*extollebat*] 'was raising to office.' Cp. Horace's *tollere honoribus* and 49. 4 *uti quemque...pecunia aut honore extulerat*.

## CHAPTER LXVI.

- 1 *omissa*] 'abandoning,' as narrated in 62. 9.  
*ab se*] 61. 1 n.  
*adfectare*] 'try to win over.'  
*suos*] 54. 8 n.  
*spe pacis amiserat*] 62. 5, 6.  
*prorsus*] 23. 1 n.
- 2 *quo*] of course refers to *Vaga*, contained in *Vagenses*—a sense construction common in both Greek and Latin. For the adverb of motion towards with *inponere* cp. *huc...imposuit* 47. 2, *eo inponit* 75. 4.  
*initio*] 47. 2.  
*suppliciis*] 55. 2 n.  
*neque...alienati*] parenthetically, 'and indeed they had not been....'  
*principes ciuitatis*] is boldly added, to correct *Vagenses*. The constr. in 49. 5 is somewhat similar.  
*nam*] of course introduces the clause which explains this correction.  
*Numidarum*] we must say 'that o. the N.' The Romans rarely use *ille* or *is* thus: cp. Bradley's Arnold 345.  
*ingenio mobili*] is parallel to *sed, atque disc.*: see on 1. 1.  
*constituunt*] absolutely, 'make an appointment for....'  
*ostentabat*] 'promised,' the Romans of course.
- 3 *centuriones tribunosque*] Intr. pp. xxv, xxii.

**praefectum]** the commandant posted there by Metellus: cp. 77.

1 and 4.

**alius alium]** 12. 2 n.

**quippe]** was not essential, but helps to shew the causal force of *in tali die ac sine imperio*.

4 **pars edocti]** For plural vb. cp. 73. 3 *plebes acceperant*.

**ipse]** 'mere,' 'in itself.'

#### CHAPTER LXVII.

1 **potissimum]** 14. 9 n.

**arce...fuga]** The ablatives depend on *prohibebant*, the direct object of which is of course *militēs* of the previous sentence. [All good MSS. read *arcem* and all but two *fugam*. Jordan's conjecture seems convincing.]

**pro tectis]** *Pro* means 'on the front of': R. 2071. For the situation compare the fate of Pyrrhus, who was slain at Argos by a tile hurled by a woman from a housetop.

2 **anceps]** 'twofold'—from the troops below and the *genus infermissimum* above.

3 **saeuissimis Numidis et oppido...clauso]** a concessive abl. abs.

**pactione]** with the conspirators.

**nisi]** 24. 5 n.

**intestabilis]** a legal word, denoting one who through misconduct had lost the claim to be admitted as a witness in a court of law. It had evidently come to be used as an equivalent for *turpis*, 'infamous.'

#### CHAPTER LXVIII.

1 **permixta]** for the neut. pl. see on 38. 8. At first he was absorbed by chagrin, then indignation began to be mingled therewith.

2 **expeditos]** applies to *legionem* as well as *equites*.

3 **abnuentis omnia]** strictly speaking it was the order to advance that they refused to obey, but the phrase may well be used as a forcible one to express their utterly mutinous frame of mind. One might say similarly 'I will not do a thing more.' Others take *omnia* with *docet*.

**mille]** is the acc. of duration, *amplius* not affecting the construction: see on 58. 3.

**dum...caperent]** 'provided they could take,' a final subjunctive.

**benigne ostentat]** 'makes liberal promises of.'

- 4 *in primo*] seems a rare phrase, though Cicero often has a *primo* of time ('from the beginning'). *In medio* is common enough: cp. *in postremo* 46. 7.  
late] 'in scouting order.'

## CHAPTER LXIX.

- 1 *animum aduortere*] 35. 8 n.  
*uorsum*] 58. 4 n.  
Numidas equites] is predicate, 'that they were N. cavalry.'  
*rursum*] not 'again,' for they had not thought so before, but 'on the contrary.'
- 2 *uolgum*] masc. as in 73. 5.
- 3 *poenae*] is rare as a predicative dative, but was necessary from motives of symmetry (because of *praedae*).
- 4 *nam*] i.e. he had not the right of appeal: see Intr. p. xxviii<sup>3</sup>.  
*ciuis e Latio*] The regular expression for a Latin in the Roman laws etc. is the elliptic *nominis Latini* (e.g. *ne quis ciuis Romanus neve nominis Latini*): even *ciuis Latinus* is very rare. There is no parallel for the phrase S. uses.

## CHAPTER LXX.

- 1 *ciuis impulsu*] 62. 1.  
*suspiciens*] Elsewhere the verb *suspicio* bears the meaning 'suspect' only in its past participle, but S., with his love of innovation, ventures to use it with that meaning here, where the past participle has just preceded.  
*ad perniciem*] as if he had written *dolum idoneum*.
- 2 *temptando*] is practically equivalent to a pres. participle or a *cum* clause. The abl. is that of attendant circumstance or manner: cp. 103. 2, R. 1385.  
*superauerant*] 'had been too much for': cp. 64. 1 n.  
*illi*] 46. 3 n.
- 3 *posceret*] is subj., as the clause depends on acc. and inf.
- 4 *inter hiberna*] He kept it *on the move* between the various points at which Roman forces were wintering.  
*inultis hostibus*] 'without the enemy suffering for it.'
- 5 *soci*] subjective gen., 'which he felt.'  
*nouom*] sc. *consilium*.



- 6 iurauisset] the subjunctive is that of virtual Or. Obl.: it implies that B.'s actual words are quoted (*per quos iurauisti*).  
 Metelli] 'which M. offered,' subjective gen.  
 conuorteret] 'allow to become,' like *uortere* in 41. 5.  
 suane] corresponds to *nostra* of Or. Rect.  
 id modo agitari] 'the only question was.'

## CHAPTER LXXI.

- 1 exercito corpore] 'after bodily exertion.'  
 2 solet] sc. *capere*.  
 nouissumi] this latest plan of his, the conspiracy.  
 5 quae...parauisset] the giving information.  
 praeuenta] 'anticipated.'  
 super] in the sense of 'concerning' 'in reference to' (cp. our 'on this subject') is found only in some of Cicero's letters, Livy and later prose, and in poetry (e.g. *multa super Priamo rogatus* Verg. Aen. 1. 750).

## CHAPTER LXXII.

- 1 aliter atque] For *atque* 'than' see on 15. 1.  
 animo gerebat] 'really felt.' The absolute use of *gero* is unusual; *gerere odium, amicitiam* etc. are common enough.  
 obpresserat] S. sometimes uses the plpf. where most writers would be content with the perfect—generally where he has in the previous sentence or sentences more or less anticipated matters. Here he seems to think that he has wandered from the point, which is, not what Iug. did to N., but how he felt the discovery of the conspiracy.  
 2 neque mortali] except indeed Bocchus, who ultimately betrayed him.  
 contra decus] 20. 1 n.: in places and under circumstances unworthy of a king.  
 tumultum facere] 'raise an alarm.'

## CHAPTER LXXIII.

- 1 integrum] i.e. to begin it all over again.  
 2 parum idoneum] is predicate: 'a man who had no heart in his work and was his own personal enemy was not much good.'  
 3 uolenti animo] 'readily,' an unusual phrase. Note the plural verb after *plebes*: cp. 66. 4.

- 4 *illi alteri*] 13. 1 n.  
*moderata*] 'were the guiding influences.' Note *sua* referring to Metellus and Marius, who are certainly not the *grammatical* subj. to the sentence: see on 9. 2.
- 5 *capitis*] 32. 1 n.  
*in maius*] lit. 'with a tendency to exaggeration.'
- 6 *res fidesque*] 'property (means) and credit.' For *in manibus* cp. Cat. 37. 7 *in agris manuum mercede inopiam tolerauerat*.
- 7 *post multas tempestates*] for the first time since 130 B.C.  
*populus...rogatus* etc.] except in the declining period of the Republic the popular assemblies avoided thus interfering in a personal question of this kind. Cp. however Liu. 30. 27, where in 202 B.C. the tribunes put this very question to the people (*quem uellent in Africa bellum gerere*)—at the suggestion, it is true, of the senate.  
*sed paulo ante* etc.] S. means that the senate had not named Numidia as one of the provinces for the forthcoming consuls: see on 62. 10. It appears then that the people could actually cancel the arrangements which the senate made under the lex Sempronia. But of course the Roman constitution was crumbling to pieces, and by 88 B.C. it was possible for them to shift the command from the magistrate named by the senate to a private individual (see on 63. 6). [The good mss. omit the words in italics—except that a few read *senatus*. The text is given only by interpolated mss., which probably got it from ch. 62. However something of the kind must have stood here.]

## CHAPTER LXXIV.

- 1 *eodem tempore*] Yet the events just mentioned took place at the end of 108, and those he is about to describe belong to the beginning of the campaign of that year. Cp. Intr. p. xiv.  
*in*] 'considering,' 'in view of,' almost causal. See on 14. 11.  
*res*] 'measure.'  
*in dies*] 'from day to day,' 44. 5 n.  
*intenderat*] 25. 10 n.
- 3 *aliquanto*] 62. 5 n.  
*numero, hostium*] *potiti* here governs first the abl., then the gen.—a good ex. of S.'s love for variety. Cp. Cat. 33. 1 *plerique patriae sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus*.

*tuta*] is attracted to the gender of *arma*: cp. Ou. Tr. 1. 2. 1 *quid enim nisi uota supersunt*. As regards the meaning of the sentence, S. says with grim humour that their feet are safer than their weapons—the latter they throw away and leave to fall into the enemy's hands. S. has already ventured on something very near to a pun (43. 1 n.): cp. too 107. 1 *ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere*. The alternative explanation, that *tuta* is used actively, 'protecting,' gives that word a meaning which it nowhere else bears. [The old reading *Numidas... tutata* is easy enough, but only a few good MSS. appear to present either of the words, and only one presents both, in this form.]

## CHAPTER LXXV.

- 1 *modo*] 47. 3 n.  
*in oppidum*] the prep. is required where *oppidum* is used in apposition: cp. 102. 1 and R. 1111.  
*multus pueritiae cultus*] a curious expression, seems to mean that there was a large establishment there for the training of the young princes. *Pueritiae* defines the nature of the *cultus*: 'establishment for the early training of....'
- 2 *Metello*] 46. 3 n.  
*proximum*] to Thala, of course, so that after reaching it he would have to march over 50 miles of desert.  
*si...potitus foret*] practically in Or. Obl., as *spe patrandi=cum speraret se patraturum esse*: see on 25. 7.
- 4 *eo*] though referring to *pecoris*, is the adverb: see on 66. 2.  
*cutusque modi*] 'of various descriptions,' especially of various materials, as *lignea* shews.
- 5 *portaret*] directly dep. on *imperat*: 28. 1 n.  
*fuerint*] must be perf. subj. of virtual Or. Obl. and represents the future perfect of Or. Rect. M. says *ibi...fueritis*. In old Latin the fut. perf. is often equivalent to the future: here there is the further idea of 'you will have got there by the time we arrive.' [But Kritz's *forent* is simpler.]
- 6 *quam*] refers to *flumen*, but is attracted by *aquam*: 41. 1 n.
- 7 *quo...praeceperat*] 64. 1 n.  
*ea modo*] quite apart from what had been carried from the river.  
For *modo=sola* see on 50. 4.
- 8 *spe amplior*] 'more than he had expected.'  
*in*] 'where submission has just been made': cp. 14. 11 n.

**officia intenderant]** 'increased their zeal in doing services,' 'performed their services with greater diligence,' doing more than was absolutely required. *Intendo* here means 'strain up to a pitch.'

- 9 **religione]** almost 'piety,' 'respect for the gods,' whose gift they dared not reject.

## CHAPTER LXXVI.

- 1 **infectum]** 'impossible': the dat. then is *not* one of agency.  
**uno die]** governed by *amplius*, would otherwise have been put in the acc. (of duration) and of course might be retained in it even as it is: see on 58. 3.  
**ceterum]** 'but the fact was,' a favourite use of the word in Tacitus.  
**nam...capi]** still depends on *putabat*.  
 3 **ex copia]** 'at his disposal.' [Two of the best MSS. read *dein duobus locis* and as most of the others read *deinde iubet locis*, which may well be a corruption of it, perhaps *duobus* ought to be read. But the special mention of *two* points as being selected is a little curious, and does not seem to suit *ex copia* very well.]  
**uineas...aggerem]** 21. 3 n.  
 4 **prorsus]** 23. 1 n.  
**nihil relicum fieri]** *Reliqui* (partitive gen.) is generally written in this phrase, which means 'nothing was left untried.'  
 5 **post]** is of course a preposition here, yet it is followed by *quam*: cp. 102. 2 *post diem quintum quam*. This is quite as good Latin as the other rendering *quadraginta post diebus quam*: see Bradley's Arnold, 323, whence it will be seen that *quadragesimo die quam* (without *post*) could also be written.  
**modo]** qualifies *oppido*.  
 6 **ducuntur]** 41. 1.  
**quas...poenas metuerant, eas ipsi uolentes pependere]** the same thought in Martial (2. 80): *Hostem cum fugeret se Fannius ipse peremit: Hic, rogo, non furor est—ne moriari, mori*.

## CHAPTER LXXVII.

- 1 **Lepti]** the town of 19. 3.  
**Hamilcarem...studere]** for the acc. and inf. see on 8. 2.  
**nobilem factiosum]** asyndeton as in 14. 11 n.  
**festinaret]** = *festinabis* of Or. Rect.: 8. 1 n. So *illorum* = *uestri*.

- 2 inde] is really redundant, being explained by *a principio*. It need not be rendered, though its use thus, with *iam*, is very idiomatic.
- 3 Metelloque] For *que* with the last noun only see on 11. 8.  
naue] a rare form for (*g*)*naviter*.
- 4 emissae] from the *prouincia* of Africa.  
cohortes Ligurum] Intr. p. xxix.

## CHAPTER LXXVIII.

- 1 quos accepimus...uenisse] Note that the Latin acc. and inf. depending on a verb in a relative clause must be rendered by the aid of parenthesis in Engl. 'Who, as we learn, came....' For *accepimus* see Intr. p. xiv<sup>4</sup>.  
ceterum] leaving aside conjecture, however.  
re] 'facts of the case' (as described in § 3) and so 'their nature.'  
Lucr. 6. 424 *presteras* (fiery whirlwinds) *Grai quos ab re nominatarunt*.
- 2 extrema] Eastern border.  
inpares...pari natura] variety as in 1. 1 (see note there).  
proxuma terrae] go together, *terrae* being dative: 'parts nearest to land.' So *oppido propinqua* 89. 5.  
uti fors tulit] lit. 'according to what fortune brings with it,' 'as chance brings it about.' This absolute use of *fero* is of course derived from such phrases as *quod fors tulit* or *obtulit*.  
alta alia, alia in tempestate uadosa] 'are deep at one time, shallow at another.' For the position of *in tempestate*, which belongs to both *alia*'s, cp. on 14. 1.
- 3 uentis] abl. of cause, so that *saenire* is best rendered by a passive verb, 'be made stormy.'  
trahunt] 'sweep about.' This rendering is desirable because S. is here translating the Gk. *σῦπειν* (to sweep) which gave the Syrtes (*Σύπρεις*) their name. So *tractu* below, 'this sweeping.'  
cum uentis] as the winds shift.
- 4 modo] qualifies *lingua*: in all other respects they are not changed.  
legum cultusque] dep. on *pleraque*, *Sidonica* being the predicate.  
regis] of Numidia.
- 5 frequentem] 'populous.' For *Numidiam* = 'part of N.' see on 61. 2.  
uastique] The *que* is of course to be omitted in Engl., being peculiar to the Latin idiom: Bradley's Arnold, 56.

## CHAPTER LXXIX.

- 1 **rem nos...admonuit]** for double acc. cp. 49. 6.
- 2 **pleraque Africa]** local abl. With the name of a country classical usage would require a preposition, but this does not seem to have been the case in old and colloquial Latin (e.g. Plautus is quite lax in the matter), and Sallust has elsewhere written *tu Mesopotamia, nos Armenia circumgredimur exercitum* (Hist. fr. 4. 61. 21). Cp. also 28. 6. We find the same tendency in Tacitus. [Most MSS. read *Africae*, but a 4th cent. grammarian tells us that S. wrote the abl. here.] For the sing. *pleraque* see on 18. 12.  
**Cyrenenses]** 19. 3.
- 3 **habuit]** 'kept.'
- 4 **legiones]** 'armies,' as in Plautus, Ennius and poets: cp. Hor. S.  
 1. 6. 4 *magnis legionibus*.  
**alteri alteros]** 18. 12 n.  
**legati]** of each state: hence the sing. *domo*.  
**inter se]** 53. 7 n.
- 5 **Philaenis]** dative: see 5. 4 n.  
**pergere]** with any object but *iter* is very rare, nor is this phrase itself common.
- 6 **ceterum]** but it need not have been *socordia*, for as a matter of fact....  
**atque]** 15. 1 n.  
**nuda]** here takes a gen.: the abl. is the usual constr. So in 90. 1 he has the only example in Latin of *uacuos* with a gen.  
**gignentium]** pres. part. (neuter gender) of *gignor* used as a deponent, meaning 'I grow.' Cp. the occasional use of *uehens* to mean 'riding' or 'driving': in this case *ueho* 'I carry' gives *uehor* 'I am carried' and then a deponent *uehor* 'I ride,' which of course has a pres. part. (cp. e.g. *morians* etc.). The use recurs 93. 4.
- 7 **aliquanto posteriores]** If the altars afterwards built (§ 10 below) were erected on the spot where they met, the deputies of Cyrene were very much behindhand, for the geographers reckon these *arae* as 80 miles from that town and 180 from Carthage!  
**conruptam]** 'ruined,' rather like our colloquial 'make a mess of.'  
**domi]** = an adj.: cp. *humi pabulum* 18. 1 n.  
**conturbare rem]** 'confuse the point at issue.'
- 8 **Graeci]** Cyrene was a colony from Thera (19. 3) in the Greek archipelago.

optionem...faciunt ut...obruerentur] 'give them the choice of being buried.' Note that the phrase then takes, for variety, an acc. and inf., a verb of saying being evolved from it: 8. 1 n.

ibi] = *in eo loco*. Then S. could have written *quem (locum) fines peterent*, 'which they claimed as the boundary.' But, as so often (see on 41. 1), the relative has been attracted to the predicate *fines*.

eadem condicione] viz. of being buried alive there.

10 rem] 'my theme,' as in 17. 1.

## CHAPTER LXXX.

2 ordines] 49. 6 n.; signa sequi] 45. 2. He made them adopt the discipline of regular troops: Intr. p. xxv<sup>3</sup>.

4 ea gratia] 54. 4 n.

foedus et amicitiam] 14. 2 n.

5 bello] is governed by *opportunissimumam*.

caeci auaritia etc.] they would not grant it unless his *legati* promised to pay for it.

[Bocchi: the best MSS. read *Boccho*, but it seems agreed that Plutarch is right in calling B. Iugurtha's father-in-law.]

6 pro] 'according to.'

eo amplius] 'all the more so' because they have more means. But it seems very strange that this last clause (*quo maiores opes habent*) is suppressed.

7 animus] 'the affections.'

pro socia optinet] 'ranks as consort,' a peculiar use of *optineo*, derived from such phrases as *optinere locum*, *dignitatem* etc. The absolute use of *optineo* in another sense is common enough: see on 17. 7. uiles] 'held cheap.'

## CHAPTER LXXXI.

1 fide] 'assurances.'

lubidinem imperitandi] explains *causam*.

quis] refers to *illos*, and should be split up into 'for...to them.'

tum] represents *nunc* of Or. Rect., as in 83. 1, 102. 14. With *sese* supply *esse*, with *Carthaginienses* supply *fuisse* from *fore* at the end of the sentence.

Persen] *Perses* is a not uncommon form for the name of Perseus, King of Macedonia. He waged with Rome what is called the Third

Macedonian war, but was finally defeated at Pydna in 168 B.C.: his country became a Roman province and P. himself was deported to Italy, where he died in captivity.

- 2 **eis atque...talibus**] is neuter, *dictis* being past ptiple. The Romans generally avoid ambiguity of gender by reserving such forms for the masc. or fem., and supplying *res* or some other defining noun for other cases, e.g. *multorum* 'of many men,' *multarum rerum* 'of many things.' Cp. however 44. 5, 45. 2, 85. 10, 90. 1.

**Cirtam**] Intr. p. xv.

- 3 **operae pretium fore**] 'there would be a reward for his trouble.' The ordinary use of the phrase is rather different: the subject of the verb *esse* is an infinitive which denotes the exertion or trouble referred to: e.g. Cat. 12. 3 *operae pretium est...uisere templa deorum*.

- 4 **id**] simply anticipates *inminuere*.

**pacem**] his peaceful relations with Rome. For the use of *inminuere* cp. 110. 3.

**moras agitando**] = *si m. agitare*: cp. on *reputando* 1. 1.

**aliud**] 'some other course.'

#### CHAPTER LXXXII.

- 1 **cognitis Mauris**] 'after first getting to know the M.'  
**ex commodo**] 'at his own convenience.'
- 2 **nam**] elliptic as in 19. 2 n. 'This was not the first he heard of M.'s successes, for.'

**supra**] i.e. beyond the limit prescribed by.

**artibus**] 'qualities.'

**aegritudinem**] 'vexation,' 'chagrin.'

- 3 **uortebant**] 'attributed to'; and from it is supplied a verb of saying to govern the next clause. Generally *uortere in w. acc.* means 'construe as' (a possible meaning here, if *superbiam* = 'act of pride'), but for the other use cp. Liu. 4. 9. 3 *quaeque alia in deum iras...uortunt*. Observe the variation of construction in the three clauses (1) *in superbiam*, (2) acc. and inf., (3) a *quod* clause.

**nobis**] for the dat. see on 46. 3; for the psychology, Intr. p. xvi.

**anxie**] 65. 3 n.

#### CHAPTER LXXXIII.

- 1 **stultitiae**] R. 1282.  
**alienam**] 'that concerned somebody else,' viz. Marius.  
**mutare**] 38. 10 n.



- sumi]** 'could be taken in hand, begun.' Observe that we should put an adversative particle ('but,' for instance) before *deponi*: cp. 31. 11 n.
- 2 oopia]** 'opportunity,' and so 'offer.'
- 3 contra]** 'with unfavourable replies to....'

## CHAPTER LXXXIV.

- 1 ei]** depends on *iussit* in the sense of *decreuit*—a bold use.  
**antea iam infestus nobilitati]** 'whilst (or 'though') he was hostile (enough) before': see on 12. 3. A *quidem* (the Latin *μέν*) would have helped matters, especially if the idiomatic *ille* had been used: Bradley's Arnold 334.  
**multus]** 'untiringly.' So in 96. 3 [and in Greek *πολύς*: indeed the phrase here seems a direct translation of Thucydides' *πολὺς ἐνέκειτο*—said of another demagogue given to censuring the conduct of a war].  
**spolia]** a metaphor from the custom of stripping a slain adversary of his armour.  
**dolentia]** *Mihi dolet* and the like, meaning 'it hurts me,' are used by Cicero impersonally: with a definite subject by Plautus (e.g. *animus m. d.*). Such an example as the present and Ovid's *nil fertur uidisse dolentius* (Ou. M. 4. 246) belong to this latter head, and are distinctly unclassical.
- 2 bello]** is dative.  
**prima]** 'paramount,' as in 41. 1 etc. .  
**sociis]** See 39. 2 n. for the use of *auxilia* in connection with *socii*.  
**militiae]** 14. 1 n. *Cognitos* of course belongs to it: he had learnt their merits by his own personal experience in war or, in some cases, from the accounts of others.  
**emeritis stipendiis]** is an abl. of quality: cp. the gen. *nullius stipendi* in 85. 10. The technical name for these men was *euocati*.
- 3 senatus]** this body was always consulted by the magistrate with regard to the levying of troops, the calling out of the allied forces, etc.  
**etiam]** qualifies *laetus*: it did the other things under compulsion, but the reinforcements it was actually glad to vote.  
**neque...et]** 1. 5 n.  
**plebi...uolenti]** another direct rendering of a Greek idiom [*βουλομένοις εἶναι*], which recurs 100. 4: lit., 'was not for the commons so that they wished,' where we should say 'not to the taste of the commons.'
- belli usum]** 'what he needed for the war': cp. 89. 6. [May not the meaning be that as 'pressed men' these troops would be useless for

- the war? There was, I suppose, no question that M. would be able to get the men: his *imperium* would enable him to bring force to bear: cp. 85. 3.]
- 4 **trahebant**] as in 93. 1. The idea is no doubt similar to that of *uolo*: cp. too 97. 2 *dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere*.
- 5 **contionem**] 30. 3 n.

## CHAPTER LXXXV.

- 1 **modicos**] 63. 2 n.  
**contra ea**] is equivalent to an adverb (*aliter* or *contra* by itself), *uidetur* being 'I think.'
- 2 **est**] The indicative here is a good example of S.'s predilection for it: other writers would almost certainly have drawn the clause into dependence on the acc. and inf. (which of course depends on *uidetur*).
- 3 **cum**] 'by virtue of'; but it also implies that they have not given him a sinecure: cp. § 28 below.  
**beneficio**] 31. 16 n.; see §§ 8, 26 below.  
**occursantis**] 'opponents.'  
**opinione**] 'than is generally imagined.'
- 4 **clientelae**] The word *cliens*, once used to denote the plebeian in his dependence on the patrician, now signified any one who attached himself to a person of distinction or influence, and especially the *liberti* of such a person.
- 5 **procedunt**] 'benefit,' an extension of the common meaning 'have a favourable result' (e.g. 65. 5). So Ou. H. 9. 109 *illi procedit rerum mensura tuarum*.  
**inuadundi**] i.e. attacking the constitution. The metaphor is a military one, not out of place in M.'s mouth: cp. § 6.
- 6 **capiamini**] may mean 'be deceived' (a common force of the word), but perhaps carries on the metaphor of *inuadundi*: cp. 16. 4 n.
- 7 **ita...fui**] 63. 2 n., and so once of persons in Cicero. Of course *hoc ita est* (cp. § 42) is the regular Latin for 'this is so.'
- 8 **uti...deseram**] One would have expected the infin., as in Cat. 4. 1 *non fuit c. bonum otium conterere*.
- 9 **potestatibus**] 'office,' as in 63. 5.  
**per ambitionem**] 'to win your favour.'  
**uortit**] 20. 4 n. The subject is of course *bene facere*. For the sense cp. Sen. Ep. 120. 11 *more eo perductus ut non tantum recte facere posset, sed nisi recte facere non posset*.
- 10 **cum**] 6. 2 n.

num id mutare etc.] S. combines (1) *num id mutare melius sit et mittere* and (2) *num melius sit si mittatis*. The *si* clause really explains *id mutare*, and in Engl. we should insert before it, 'I mean.'

**globo**] compact mass, 'ring.'

**prosapiae**] a distinctly archaic word, as Cicero tells us.

**multarum imaginum et nullius stipendi**] bold genitives of quality.

For *imaginum* see on 4. 5.

- 12 **acta maiorum**] military history. One is surprised to find Cicero believing that such a 'course' could produce a general: Acad. 2. 2 (of Lucullus) *cum totum iter et navigationem consumpsisset partim in percontando a peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis, in Asiam factus imperator uenit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis*.

**praeposteri**] 'who reverse the natural order of things': cp. *frigus praeposterum* in Seneca, of cold that comes in spring (an epithet more intelligible in Italy than in Northern climes!).

**gerere**] sc. *magistratum*, just as **feri** means 'to be elected to office.'

We should say, 'though it comes after': cp. 31. 11 n.

**re**] 'reality'; **usu**, 'actual practice.'

- 14 **probra**] 'vices': the word is especially used in ref. to offences which would incur the censor's *nota*.

- 15 **quamquam**] corrective, as often in other writers. M. means that he is not asserting that *all* the *nobiles* are bad and everyone else good.

**generosissimum**] 'noblest,' is of course the predicate.

- 17 **ex uirtute...coepit**] 'sprang from merit': they were *boni* before they were *nobiles*.

- 20 **ne**] 14. 21 n.

- 21 **apud uos**] in the popular assemblies. For the sing. *pleraque* cp. 18. 12 n.

- 22 **contra est**] is the opposite of *ita est*: tr. 'this is not so—on the contrary.'

- 23 Juvenal imitates in 8. 138 sqq. *incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum Nobilitas claramque facem praeferre pudendis*, and of course we have in our own language the 'fierce light which beats upon a throne.' A fine application of the saying will be found in Caesar's speech in Cat. 51. 12.

- 25 **quod**] the credit due to brave deeds.

- 26 **equidem**] 10. 6 n.

**conpositam**] 'elaborate'—of careful arrangement of words and subject. Cicero couples the word with *ornatus*: cp. § 31 below.

**in...beneficio**] 'considering the favours you have done me': *in* as in

14. 11 n.

in conscientiam duceret] 'attribute to consciousness of my unworthiness.' For the use of *ducere in* (for which *uortere in* is more common: see on 82. 3) cp. 14. 1 n., and 92. 2.

27 ex animi mei sententia] 38. 4 n.

praedicent] the subject is *uera*; for the mood see on 31. 6.

superant] 'refute.'

28 uostra consilia] emphatic: not I, but your policy. From *uostra* is evolved *uos* as antecedent to *qui*: so often.

29 triumphos] 31. 10 n.

hastas, uexillum, phaleras] 54. 1 n. Cp. Sil. Ital. 15. 261, 2 *tunc hasta uiris, tunc Martia cuique uexilla...dantur*.

30 hae...haec] For the attraction of the pronoun to the predicate see on 41. 1.

31 composita] § 26.

32 ad uirtutem] 'for the attainment of a virtuous life.' He seems to imply that many of the Greek philosophers failed to act up to their own creeds.

33 illa] acc. retained from the active (*illa doceo*): 56. 2 n.

34 arte] 'on short commons': cp. Plaut. Asin. 78 *quamquam illum mater arte contentaeque habet* (= 'short of money'). Note the zeugmatic force of *colam* with this word, for its regular meaning is 'treat well.'

meam...illorum] are predicates.

ciuile] such as a citizen may exert over his fellow citizens, 'constitutional.' Cp. the contrast, *dominum esse*, just below.

35 tute] again in 102. 11: cp. on 4. 2.

agas] 'live,' 55. 2 n.

cogere] apparently = *cohibere*, 'control.'

dominum] for the acc., cp. 31. 26 n.

37 quis] = *maioribus*.

ex] 'on the strength of.'

38 dono] probably predicative dative: Roby, vol. 2, p. xlvi b.

39 pluris preti] strictly speaking *preti* must depend on *pluris*: for practical purposes *pluris* = *maioris* and the whole phrase is a gen. of quality.

cocum] Cp. Mommsen's account (of this period): 'But the real focus in which the brilliance of this genteel life was concentrated was the table. Extravagant prices—as much as 100000 sesterces (£1050)—were paid for an exquisite cook etc. etc.' (R.H. vol. 3, p. 417). Livy too speaks of the rise in value of the cook: *quod ministerium fuerat*, he says in words with which one might warn some 'educationists' of the day,

*ars haberi coeperat* (39. 6). He mentions in the same passage the *convivialia ludionum oblectamenta* to which S. has just referred (*histrionem*).

- 40 **sanctis**] combines the ideas of purity and conscientiousness: it is just the word for the old uncorrupted Roman character. However, in 109. 4 it is used of a Numidian.
- 41 **quin**] with jussive subjunctive, as often with imperative. The other exx. seem to be cases where the subj. = imperative of Or. Rect.
- dediti**] 'slaves to,' as in 2. 4.
- et alia**] 1. 3 n.
- 42 **non ita est**] they won't be content with their banquets etc. For the phrase, see on § 7.
- uiri**] is used intentionally, to imply that their feelings are unworthy of their sex.
- 44 **quantum mei mores** etc.] he feels it is an injury to his own character even to have to speak of their offences.
- 45 **atque**] 11. 8 n. The nouns refer respectively to Bestia, Aulus Albinus and Metellus.
- 47 **iuxta geram**] 'treat on equal terms': see on 55. 1.
- 48 **matura**] 'ready to hand,' as they spoke of a *seges matura* (*messi*), ready for reaping.
- decebat**] 14. 7 n.
- 50 **nam**] as if *plura non dicam* had preceded.

## CHAPTER LXXXVI.

- 2 **ex classibus**] By the old Servian constitution those liable to military service were divided into 5 *classes* ('callings') according to their wealth. At the time to which S. refers the lowest class consisted of those whose property was valued at 4000 asses (up to 25000). Those who had less did not serve, but had to pay taxes like the rest, unless indeed they had less than 1500, when they became exempt from this burden also. This last class were called *capite censi* (i.e. entered on the censor's lists only for their persons, not for their property tax). S. means then that M. did not confine himself to the people who had 4000 asses or more (who were in the *classes*), and indeed got most of his men from those who had 1500 or less.
- 3 **ambitionem**] 45. 1 n. Here it is the favour of the lower classes that is courted.
- auctus**] 'advanced.'

- neque...et] 1. 5 n.  
 cara] is of course predicate: *sua* is practically 'ties of his own.'  
 cum pretio] is equivalent to an adjective (28. 1 n.), 'if they brought profit with them.'  
 4 igitur] resumptive after § 3. See on 20. 7.  
 5 Rutilio] 50. 1.  
 quae audita] 'the news of which,' like *urbs condita* etc.

## CHAPTER LXXXVII.

- 1 expletis] 'raised to their full strength.'  
 cohortibus auxiliariis] Intr. p. xxix<sup>b</sup>.  
 donat] instead of having it sold and the proceeds paid into the state treasury.  
 alia aliis] 12. 2 n.  
 2 fortissimum etc.] i.e. the bravest came off best. *Armis* is emphatic and opposed to *ignavia* or *fuga* understood.  
 patriam parentesque] go closely together and form one phrase, the second member of the enumeration. For *et* with *alia* see on 1. 3.  
 4 diuorsi] 12. 5 n.  
 laxius licentiusque] For the advbs. see on 63. 2. In 14. 11 *ubiuis tutius quam in meo regno essem* the verb has the idea of *habitare* and the idiom is less perceptible. Cp. 94. 1.

## CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

- 1 spem] *Spes, spero* are sometimes used of *anticipation* in a neutral sense, but the use is rare outside the poets.  
 3 ex sociis] 32. 3. The inhabitants of the *prouincia* are meant: see on 8. 1.  
 armis exuerat] a common phrase to denote a complete rout, in which the fugitives fling away their shields etc. in order to flee more quickly. Cp. *castris exuere*.  
 4 belli patrandi] For the gen. ('calculated to conclude') cp. the common *reipublicae euertendae* in Livy, and R. 1286.  
 ita Iugurtham etc.] dependent on *statuit* which here passes into the meaning 'feel sure.'  
 nudatum] *Iri* would of course be added in ordinary Latin: here we can only supply *fore*, which is occasionally combined with the past participle in this way. Cp. Liu. 2. 34. 11 *hoc malo domitos ipsos potius cultores agrorum fore*, but do not imitate. For the sense, cp. 81. 3.

- 5 nam] as in 19. 2 n.: 'He did not trouble about B., for....'  
 6 grauior accideret] 'come upon him with all the more effect.'  
 mutare] 'alternate.'  
 solitus] is in apposition to the subject of the dependent verb, *fecerit*  
 or the like, which has to be supplied from *simulauerit*.

## CHAPTER LXXXIX.

- 2 mediocria] 'an unambitious programme': cp. 6. 3.  
 ob] instead of the *ad* regularly used in such cases, is notable.  
 4 Hercules Libys] 18. 3 n.  
 immunes] 'free from tribute.'  
 5 oppido propinqua] 78. 2 n.  
 infesta] though elsewhere in S. always active ('hostile' etc.), is  
 doubtless passive here, 'rendered dangerous by': cp. Ou. M. 4. 620  
*infestaque terra colubris*.  
 ipsa] of itself, apart from exasperating circumstances.  
 6 usum belli] cp. 84. 3 n., lit. 'usefulness for war,' i.e. value from the  
 strategic point of view.  
 Thalam] ch. 75 sqq. *Magna gloria* is of course emphatic, 'had won  
 great glory by taking.'  
 iugi] 'everflowing,' i.e. a never failing spring.  
 cetera] sc. *aqua*, *pluuia* being predicate: 'the rest of the water they  
 used was rain water.' For the sing. *cetera* see on 61. 2.  
 7 ibique] *que* simply joins *ibi* to the following words: cp. 26. 1 n. for  
*que...et*.  
 Africa] = *parte Africae*: see on 61. 2.  
 agebat] see on 55. 2. It is elsewhere generally used of persons, but  
 cp. 55 l.c. where *ciuitas* = *ciues*, and so one may explain *Africa* here.  
 But it seems simplest to suppose that S. allowed a slight extension of the  
 use. [This view of mine is, I think, supported by Sil. Ital. 9. 214 *licet*  
*auia longe Vrbs agat et nostro procul a certamine distet*. Jordan's cor-  
 rections seem quite needless in face of this.]

## CHAPTER XC.

- 1 temptabatur] 'was beset by.'  
 aruo] 'ploughed land' (*ar-are*) and so almost the ploughing of it,  
 with the result as seen in crops.  
 frugum] the only ex. of gen. after *uacuos*: see on 79. 6.

**tamen**] i.e. though he trusted to the gods, he did not think this freed him from responsibility.

**copia**] 39. 5 n. *Pro* is 'considering,' 'so far as it allowed.'

2 **equitibus auxiliariis**] Intr. p. xxix<sup>5</sup>.

**Laris**] acc. pl., the town being *Lares*.

**dicitque** etc.] Marius had evidently found that Iugurtha was well posted as to his movements.

## CHAPTER XCI.

1 **centurias, item turmas**] Intr. pp. xxv, xxiii<sup>4</sup>.

**corilis**] those of the *pecus*.

**ignaris omnibus**] without letting any one know what his purpose was.

2 **uti...egrederentur**] is a pure final clause, *paratos esse* being used absolutely: 'keep themselves in readiness, so as to....'

**seque et iumenta**] 26. 1 n.

3 **proxuma**] i.e. *nocte*.

**duum**] 50. 3.

**operitur**] 'conceals himself,' as though it were a deponent.

4 **multi**] goes with *egressi*, 'in large numbers.'

**eis**] refers to the collective *equitatum*: see on 14. 6 n.

**obsidēre**] 'seize.'

5 **res...metus...malum...pars**] are all subjects to *coegere*. The last clause will be in English 'the thought (or 'fact') that some of their countrymen were outside': see on 6. 3. The people referred to are of course the Numidae of § 4.

6 **ceterum**] i.e. in spite of the *deditio*. So *contra ius belli* in § 7: a city which surrendered looked for milder treatment than one which held out till it was stormed.

**uenumdati**] 1. 4 n.

## CHAPTER XCII.

1 **magnus...antea**] is concessive: 'though he had been...before.'

2 **non bene consulta**] 'his mistakes': cp. 94. 7 *Mari temeritas gloriam ex culpa inuenit*.

**in uirtutem trahebantur**] 85. 26 n.

**modesto**] 'strict': cp. *modestia* 7. 4 n. Generally, where the general was a martinet the soldier could not enrich himself, opportunities for



pillage being limited: cp. 44. 1 *praedator...sine imperio et modestia habitus*. *Et* practically means, 'and yet,' as in 95. 3.

ad caelum ferre] 53. 8 n.

magis] with *timere*: they felt for him a fear greater than they would have felt for one whom they believed to be a mere mortal.

4 asperitate] 17. 2 n.

qua Capsensium] supply *res fuerat*.

5 ceteram planitiem] brief for 'district the rest of which was level.'

For the singular of *ceterus* see on 61. 2.

castello] is of course dative: cp. 98. 3 *castris parum amplo*.

omnis] with *mons*: *natura* is abl.

6 intendit] 25. 10 n.

7 nam] introduces the explanation of the failure of *consilium*.

castello] dative governed by *erat* which has to be understood and has for subjects the nouns *salis*, *uis* and *fons*.

aggeribus turribusque] 21. 3 n.

altis machinationibus] cp. Caes. B. G. 2. 31 *tantae altitudinis machinationes*, where however the *machinatio* is a moveable tower: here the towers are mentioned as something different: cp. *machinis* in 21 l.c. Tr. 'engines of war.' [Many good MSS. read *altiis* and so most edd.]

praecisum] 'with a precipice.'

8 ea] 38. 6. [MSS. read *praecisae uineae* and Wirz's conjecture is an ingenious attempt to explain this final *ae* of the participle.]

#### CHAPTER XCIII.

1 consumptis] 25. 11 n.

trahere] 84. 4 n. For *cum animo* see 6. 2 n.

2 cohortibus auxiliariis] Intr. p. xxix<sup>5</sup>. The Ligurian was accustomed to the precipices of his own mountains.

auorsum] 'farthest away from.'

animum aduertit] is taken as forming a simple verb, and so governs *cocleas*.

studio legundi paulatim] So Ovid (F. 4. 443) of Proserpine's companions: *carpendi studio paulatim longius itur*.

3 more ingeni humani etc.] Note the characteristic brevity here: instead of saying 'as so often happens to men's minds, a desire to perform what was difficult came upon him and this gave his thoughts a different turn,' S. omits the italicised words.

4 modo] with *paulum*, 'only for a short distance horizontal.'

- gignuntium**] 79. 6 n.  
**fert**] 'tends,' of direction, just as they said *uia fert*.  
**planitiem**] 'the level courtyard,' almost.  
**aderant**] here and in 94. 3, seems used for *animo aderant*, 'had their attention upon.'  
**5 eādem**] 38. 6 n.  
**6 ab**] 14. 10 n. For the mood of *templet* see 28. 1 n.  
**7 promissa**] i.e. the possibility of his doing what he undertook to do: a very brief phrase.  
**ex praesentibus**] means 'some of those about him' and the phrase forms the object to *misit*. The use should not be imitated. [It is found in Tacitus; cp. the Greek use of the partitive genitive: e.g. 'Ο Κναζάρης λαβὼν τῶν ἐβρώμενων ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν προσελαύνει, Xen. Cyr. 1. 4. 20.]  
**uti cuiusque etc.**] each man's report was coloured by his own character: the sanguine man believed the thing could be done.

## CHAPTER XCIV.

- 1 sed**] marks the transition from Marius to the Ligurian.  
**ex praecepto**] must mean 'in accordance with his directions from Marius.'  
**[escensuri** is Carrio's conjecture for the extraordinary readings of the MSS., *e centuriis* or *centuriis* (*praecerant*).]  
**ornatum**] 'accoutrements.'  
**facilius**] the adverb may be explained here by the fact that *foret* (*eis*) is equivalent to *haberent* or the like: see however on 63. 2.  
**offensa**] if they knocked against the rocks. Observe the variation in *ponderis gratia* and *quo...streperent*.  
**2 nisui**] the dative of work contemplated. One would expect the supine in *u* [which may of course be dative, not abl., if we suppose it to be a case of the survival of the old form of that case: see on 6. 1].  
**potissimus**] 'in preference to anybody else': 14. 9 n.  
**eādem**] as in 93. 5.  
**digrediens**] He had shewn them it was possible to go up and get down again: now he went off once more and without delay, to shew them that he took it for granted there could be no fear now.  
**3 aderant**] 93. 4 n.  
**testudine**] the close formation in which the soldiers of the outside ranks place their shields in front and the others hold their shields

over their heads as a protection against missiles. They practised the manoeuvre with such success that men were able to walk over the surface presented by the firmly interlocked shields. The origin of the name (*testudo* = 'tortoise-shell') is obvious enough.

*succedere*] 'came up to the walls.'

4 *pro*] clearly means 'in front of,' 'outside,' as *uisum processerant* in § 5 shews. It could, as far as the use of word goes, mean 'on': see 67. 1.

6 *plerosque...sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora uadere*] at first, being at a distance, they only wounded their foes, who got away, but presently they got nearer and were able to kill. Hence, as they advanced, they found themselves among the dead.

*praeda*] 'thought of spoils.'

#### CHAPTER XCV.

1 *quaestor*] 29. 4 n.

*quos*] 14. 6 n.

2 *res*] 17. 1 n.

*cultu*] 'manner of life.'

*neque...et*] 1. 5 n.

*alio loco*] In the Histories however he gave at least a summary of the struggle between Sulla and the Marian party. [Cp. fragments 18. 23, 29. 31 (Dietsch) of the first book.]

*L. Sisenna*] Intr. p. xiv.

*persecutus*] *eas res* is object of this as well as *dixere*. The participle is concessive, 'though he has treated of them.'

3 *nobilis*] is probably nominative. As *nobilis* applied to a man generally means that some of the members of his *gens* had held curule office (see on 4. 7) and this was not necessarily the case with all patrician *gentes*, there is no obvious reason why it should not be added as a further specification to *gentes patriciae*. But as a matter of fact *nobilis* is not often used of patricians.

*familia*] Observe the difference between this and the *gens*, of which it is a subdivision. His *gens* was the Cornelian, which contained, among others, the *familia* of the Scipios. His own was of course known as that of the Sullas.

*extincta*] a strong word for 'made obscure': *extinguere memoriam* helped a little; cp. Cic. Mur. 16 *memoriam prope inter-mortuam generis sui uirtute renouare*.

*atque*] 'yes, and,' parenthetically. [Jordan's *doctissimi* will require that *atque* be taken with *iuxta*, as after *pariter* etc.]

**otio luxurioso**] is of course an abl. of quality, where we should say, 'addicted to ease.'

**nisi quod**] 'except that.' The force of the next clause is not quite clear. Literally the meaning is 'except that a more honourable (discreet) course might have been taken as regards his wife,' or, as *uxore* may be collective, and Sulla married five times, 'his wives.' Whether S. is charging him with infidelity or the readiness with which he availed himself of the facilities which Roman law offered for divorce is quite uncertain. For **consuli**, which is of course impersonal, see on 13. 8.

**et**] 'and yet' (so not a case like 11. 8).

**amicitia**] is probably ablative, 'ready to give his friendship.'

**negotia**] is a mere equivalent for *res*, the whole phrase standing for *ad simulandum*.

4 **felicissimo**] He assumed the surname of *Felix*.

**ante ciuilem uictoriam**] With the punctuation adopted in the text, these words qualify *felicissimo*. S. refuses to call him *felix* after his victory, owing to the cruelty with which he revenged himself upon men who, though his enemies, were nevertheless fellow citizens. Cp. Cic. Phil. 2. 64 *Caesar Alexandria se recepit, felix, ut sibi quidem uidebatur: mea autem sententia, qui rei publicae sit hostis, felix esse nemo potest*. [Modern edd. seem to prefer to make it qualify *numquam...fuit*, but did not Sulla's *industria* match his prosperity even after his victory—at least until he laid down his dictatorship?]

**super...fuit**] 'surpassed': cp. 64. 2 *super fortunam animum gereret*.

## CHAPTER XCVI.

1 **igitur**] resumes the narrative: 19. 7 n.

**Africam...castra**] i.e. first the province and then the camp.

2 **ad hoc**] 'moreover, besides': 2. 2 n.

**illi**] the debtors, *quam plurimi* being predicative, 'that those who owed him money should be as numerous as possible.'

3 **atque**] 11. 8 n.

**multus**] 84. 1 n.

**quod...solet**] sc. *facere*. Generally *fieri* has to be supplied: see on 15. 5.

4 **artibus**] 'qualities,' as so often in S.

## CHAPTER XCVII.

- 1 **pecuniam**] the treasure referred to in 92. 6.  
**nuntios misit**] governs the ensuing Or. Obl.
- 2 **rationes**] is probably a metaphor from accounts, as we should say, 'balancing the relative advantage of....' For *trahere* ('weigh') see on 84. 4.  
**antea**] 80. 3.  
**compositum foret**] 8. 1 n.
- 3 **die**] for this form of the gen. cp. 52. 3.  
**uictis**] = *si uicti essent*.  
**nullo impedimento**] is an abl. of quality, lit. 'not in the nature of a hindrance.' Its use alongside the predicative dative is characteristic of S.'s passion for variety.  
**utrumque casum**] whatever their fortunes, the darkness would be against them.
- 4 **simul...et**] 'at one and the same moment.....and,' 'no sooner...than.'  
**colligere**] 'pile.'  
**more**] 'ordinary formation.'
- 5 **[escendere** is attested by a fourth century grammarian: all MSS. read the commoner *asc.*]  
**latrocinio**] 'an affair with brigands.'  
**ordinibus**] they did not fight in centuries or maniples: see on 49. 5.  
**supra**] 87. 3. [The MSS. read simply *ueteres nouique et ob ea scientes* which is meaningless. That *ueteres nouique* is right I think certain: S. often uses appositional clauses of the kind: cp. e.g. 65. 4 *equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores*, 94. 5 *cuncti, armati inermesque*. My conjecture is based on the assumption that the copyist's eye passed from *ea qu(a)e* to *scientes* owing to the similar *aeque* preceding the latter word. Then *nouique ob eaque* became *nouique et ob ea*.]  
**orbis**] a formation often referred to by the ancient writers: in usage it corresponded to the modern 'square.'

## CHAPTER XCVIII.

- 1 **quam familiarissimis**] generally the *cohors praetoria* (Intr. p. xxvii) consisted of the commander's friends and clients: cp. Caes. B.G. I. 39 *qui ex urbe amicitiae causa Caesarem secuti non magnum in re militari usum habebant*.

- manu]** by actual fighting.
- 2 **cum...remittere]** observe the (very rare) use of the historic infin. in what is at least formally a subordinate clause and cp. 100. 4. For the use of *cum* inverted see on 12. 5.
- 3 **copia rerum]** 39. 5 n.  
**inter se]** 53. 7 n.  
**castris]** 92. 5 n.  
**usui]** 'his purpose.'  
**quaerebat]** 'required,' a rare meaning of the word (but found in Cicero).
- 4 **neque minus hostibus conturbatis]** S. could have written *h. non m. c.* or *neque minus hostes conturbati sunt* (parenthetically): he has chosen to confuse the two constructions.  
**pleno gradu]** a definite military term: soldiers marching thus would cover twenty miles in about six hours, according to Vegetius [*horis quinque aestiuis* he says: the 'summer' *hora* was about an hour and a quarter].
- 6 **agere pro]** 'behaved as.'

## CHAPTER XCIX.

- 1 **per uigilias]** 'from watch to watch.' The *bucinator* notified the conclusion of each of them.  
**uigiles]** there is no evidence to shew that the men on guard had trumpets. [And MSS. all read *uictigalis*: the text is Kortte's conjecture.]  
**cohortium, turmarum]** = the auxiliary forces: Intr. p. xxix.  
**portis]** 98. 3 implies a fortified position.
- 2 **ignoto]** the *Numidians* of course knew it well enough, but their new allies heard it now for the first time.

## CHAPTER C.

- 1 **cooperat]** 97. 3. [*Nam* is due to Nipperdey, *proficiscitur* to inferior MSS.]  
**agere]** 55. 2.  
**quadrato agmine]** is always used in connection with a situation like the one here described—of movement in the presence of the enemy. The exact formation denoted by the phrase is not always the same. Here it means 'a rectangle'; the heavy armed are in the centre of this, and the four sides consist of cavalry or light troops.

- 2 **Manlius cum funditoribus...praeterea cohortis...curabat]** note the double construction of the verb, which is first intransitive (cp. 46. 7) and then governs *cohortis*.
- 3 **cari]** 'precious.'
- quasi nullo inposito]** 'as though he had no lieutenant.'
- 4 **item]** for the brevity cp. Cat. 27. 2 *ipse cum telo esse, item alios iubere*.  
**facere]** for the historic inf. cp. on 98. 2. He fortified his camp as carefully as he conducted his march.  
**futurum quae.** Gellius (writer of 2nd cent. A.D.) tells us that he found in a good Ms. of Cicero the reading *hanc sibi rem praesidio sperant futurum* and brings forward from older writers some similar passages, where the fut. inf. appears to be indeclinable. [Most edd. read *futuram* in the Cicero passage and Wirz reads *futura* here, but if the future inf. ever was indeclinable, S. is just the writer to revive the usage.] Of course the acc. and inf. depends on *diffidentia*.  
**uolentibus]** 84. 3 n.
- 5 **illoque aliisque]** 10. 2 n.  
**malo]** 'punishment': perhaps the regular term for it among the troops: cp. Liu. 4. 49. 11 where a general says *malum quidem militibus meis, nisi quieverint*.  
**pars...habuisse]** that is to say, they explained his sharing the work of his troops by the fact that he had always been used to such things.  
**nisi tamen]** 'anyhow': cp. on 24. 5.  
**pariter ac etc.]** 'as well as it could have been with the sternest of discipline.'

## CHAPTER CI.

The account of this battle will be better understood if the description of Marius' formation in the previous chapter (§ 2) is carefully read. From § 6 below we see that Marius was in the front line, where, as 100. 2 tells us, infantry stood. Sulla was on the right, with cavalry (100. 2). The rear consisted of infantry (ib.), and the left flank does not seem to have been engaged. The battle began on the right flank (§ 4): Sulla charged and routed the enemy (§ 8). Bocchus and the Moorish infantry fell on the rear (§ 5). Iug. had attacked the front (§ 6), evidently with cavalry (see § 10), but on learning that Bocchus had arrived he passed round to the rear (§ 6). When that portion of the Roman troops was giving way, disheartened by Iug.'s false boast, Sulla returned from the chase on the right flank and fell upon the Moorish infantry, taking

them in the flank in the very moment of their victory (§ 8). Bocchus fled at once, Iug. held out until Marius, who had driven off the foe from the front, came up and settled the issue of the day.

- 2 **diuorsi**] with *redeuntes*, 'coming in from different directions.'  
**alius ab alia parte**] 12. 2 n.  
**significabant**] is at first absolute, 'each brought in his news,' and then governs *idem*, 'and all brought in the same tale.'
- ordine**] 49. 6 n. He kept to his order of march (100. 2).
- 3 **aeque**] 'in any case,' 'no matter what formation M. adopted.'  
**aliquos**] goes with *ex omnibus*, 'some portion of his whole force.'  
**ab tergo...uenturos**] 'would be able to take them in the rear.'
- 4 **ceteri**] the rest of his troops.
- 5 **priore pugna**] ch. 97 sqq.  
**adfuerant**] the subject is *qui* evolved from *quos*: see on 14. 16.  
**inuadunt**] for the plural cp. 38. 6.
- 6 **agebat**] 55. 2.  
**pedites**] those of Bocchus. Before he had been with his own *cavalry*.  
He engaged the *Roman* infantry in *both* cases (see 100. 2 *primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locauerat*).  
**conuortit**] intrans.: 20. 4 n.  
**Numantiam**] 7. 2 sqq.  
**pedite**] collective.
- 7 **atrocitate rei**] seems to mean 'the horrible thought of such a calamity being possible.'
- 8 See prefatory remarks to the chapter. *Mauris*=*barbari* of § 7.
- 9 **adeptam**] passive, as sometimes in other writers: cp. 17. 7 n.  
**omnibus**] i.e. his companions.
- 10 **fugatis equitibus**] see § 6 n. After Iug.'s departure they had probably not given Marius much trouble.
- 11 A graphic description like Byron's  
'The flying Mede, his shaftless broken bow,  
The fiery Greek, his red pursuing spear.'  
Observe the historic infinitives.  
**quietem pati**] 'keep quiet.'  
**modo**] 'one moment': then, instead of *modo* again, he writes *statim*.  
**uisus**] 'possibility of seeing': cp. 59. 1 *qua regis aduentus erat*.



## CHAPTER CII.

- 1 post ea loci] 63. 6 n.
- 2 post diem quintum quam] 76. 5 n.  
iterum] cp. on 101. 5 *priore pugna*.  
uerbis] 21. 4 n.  
mitteret] instead of making this dependent on *petiuere* by *ut*,  
S. puts it in the jussive of Or. Obl. Cp. on 8. 1.
- 3 acciti] i.e. to *hear*, not to *speak*.  
auorsum...cupidum] are conditional: 'if it was...'  
4 concessum] 'waived his claims in view of': see 11. 4.
- 5 cum...monuere] even Cicero uses *cum* with the ind. in this causal  
meaning after *laudo*, *gratulor*, etc.: R. 1725.  
demeres] of course depends on *uti*.  
necessitudinem...persequi] cp. R. 1360. Do not imitate this use of  
the infinitive in dependence on a noun: the gerund (*persequendi*) would  
be much better Latin.
- 6 [inopi is certainly awkward: a weak state would have little chance  
of enslaving others. Some MSS. and edd. omit the word.]  
rati] refers to *populus Romanus*: cp. on 14. 6.
- 7 offensae minumum] 'the least possible chance of collision.'  
gratia etc.] 'whereas our friendship would be as powerful as if we  
were neighbours.'  
parentis] from *pāreo*.
- 9 illam] is of course 'Fortune.'
- 10 multa atque opportuna] 'many services': *habes* meaning 'you have  
the power to do.'
- 11 demitte] cp. *descendere* 11. 7.  
uictum] 'outdone.'  
nam] '(I say *beneficiis*, not *bello*), for...': 19. 2 n.  
tute] 85. 35.
- 12 pro] 'in defence of.'
- 13 iure belli suam factam] a highly coloured account of the transaction  
of 97. 2.
- 14 repulsum] 80. 4.  
tum] = *nunc* of Or. Rect., as in 81. 1.
- 15 copia] that is, of sending ambassadors.  
barbari] is emphatic and almost *causal*.

## CHAPTER CIII.

- 1 **praesidium**] is in apposition to *perfugas*, 'as a guard.
- 2 **rursus**] he returned to his plans of 102. 2.  
**reputando...admonitus**] note the variation, and for the abl. of the gerund see on 70. 2.  
**aliis**] i.e. than those of 102. 15.
- 3 **placeat**] = *placebit* of Or. Rect.: see on 8. 1.  
**quocumque**] = *quouis*, a usage not to be imitated: until Livy it seems limited (in prose) to the abl. sing. of the word.
- 4 **sine decore**] 'in a sorry plight.'  
**proficiscens**] most writers would say *cum proficisceretur*: cp. on 35. 10.  
**pro praetore**] 36. 4 n.
- 5 **uanis**] 'deceitful.' They 'deserved' it, because of the sorry spectacle they presented.  
**amicum rati**] they mistook policy for friendship.
- 6 **etiam tum**] even at that late date: the Moors were behind the times! *Largitio* is of course 'bribery,' and *multis* means 'many in these parts.'  
**pariter uolens**] 'one whose wishes corresponded to his acts': if a man gave you presents, he must mean well to you.  
**habebantur**] 'were reckoned,' 'put down to'—a bookkeeping metaphor.
- 7 **beniuolentiae**] 'likely to produce good will': dative of work contemplated, R. 1156. [The MSS. also offer *beniuolentiam*, or *-uolentia*. Wirz would read *uolentia*, which S. elsewhere uses, as the Greeks used *βουλόμενα*, in a passive sense 'desired by.' I am not at all sure that S. may not have allowed himself to use *beniuolentia* in the sense 'showing goodwill,' the epithet which really belongs to the actor being transferred to the act. 'Things likely to produce goodwill' would surely come under the head of *utilia*.]

## CHAPTER CIV.

- 1 **quo intenderat**] 25. 10 n. He captured the *turris regia* of 103. 1.  
**[ab Tucca]** There were three towns of the name in Africa: the one referred to here must be the one which Pliny describes as *impositum mari et flumini Ampsagae*. We know that Marius meant to quarter his

troops in the coast towns: see 100. 1. [But the MSS. are divided between *Tucca* and *Utica*. The latter seems impossible in view of the mention of that city a little later, where it is really needed to explain *praetorem*. Even *Tucca* is not satisfactory: seeing that S. did not say where Sulla was at § 4 of the last chapter, he is hardly likely to have troubled to do so here—where the information is quite unessential. However, it seems so unlikely that a copyist should have inserted the name of this comparatively unknown town that I leave the words in the text.]

*praetorem*] the governor of the *prouincia* (see on 19. 7): his seat would be at the capital, *Utica*.

2 *in quis* etc.] In this sentence there are really two subjects to *postulabantur*: (1) the clause *legatis potestas...fieret* and (2) the noun *indutiae*. So in 65. 2 *potenti* takes first a clause and then a noun as objects. It is all part of the straining after variety. *Fieret* is really jussive.

*aduorsa*] the opposite degree or state of things, from good to bad and vice-versa.

3 *quaestor*] He would be one of the two *quaestores urbani*, so called because they remained in the city to superintend the Treasury. Apparently *Ruso* had to bring the money out and (doubtless) return at once. The actual payment to the soldiers would be the duty of *Marius'* *quaestor*, Sulla.

4 *deprecati sunt*] 'pleaded in excuse,' a usage apparently not found elsewhere: cp. however *si deprenti simus excusemus ebrios Nos fecisse* Plaut. *Aul.* 742—3.

*amicitiam et foedus*] 14. 2 n.

5 *gratiam facit*] *gratiam* here has the meaning of 'a favour,' almost 'a gift.' Cp. the use of *condono*.

#### CHAPTER CV.

1 *cuius arbitratu*] 'in order that.....with full powers on Sulla's side.' *Arbitratu meo, tuo, suo* is a common phrase, denoting that a person acts 'in accordance with his rights,' 'up to his discretion.' *Cuius* of course = *ut...eius*, as the subjunctive *consuleretur* shews.

*negotiis consuleretur*] 'take measures to secure,' not 'discuss,' which would require *de neg.* For *communibus neg.* cp. 108. 2 *res communis*.

2 *uelitaribus*] such as the *uelites* carried, *Intr.* p. xxv.

*neque his secus* etc.] 'and quite as well protected by this class of

weapons as (they could have been) by any other against the missiles of the enemy.' *Armis* no doubt refers to their weapons as well as the defensive armour; so that *muniti* means at once 'protected' and 'adequately armed.' For *atque* see on 15. 1.

- 3 *mille non amplius equitibus*] 58. 3 n.  
*hostilem*] 'such as enemies would cause': cp. *hostilia* (e.g. 3. 2 above).  
*efficiebant*] is used here (zeugmatically) to mean (1) 'made...seem' and (2) 'produced.'  
 4 *intendere*] 'aim.'  
*timor*] sc. *eis erat*. With this supplied dative, *victoribus* stands in apposition.  
 5 *rem...quietam*] 'the encounter was of a peaceful nature.'

## CHAPTER CVI.

- 1 *adueniens*] for the pres. ptc. see on 35. 10.  
 2 *diel uesper*] 52. 3.  
*incerto*] 'perplexed,' 'troubled': cp. Cic. Clu. 54 *timor eius, perturbatio, suspensus incertusque uoltus*.  
*noctu*] i.e. that same night.  
 3 *mansurum*] depends on the affirmative *dicit* evolved from *negat* above. This is a common usage: cp. too 107. 3, 111. 2.  
*ducebat*] for the ind., spite of Or. Obl., see on 54. 1.  
*interiturae*] 'destined to end.'  
*parceret*] would have been subj. even in Or. Rect.: see on 24. 9.  
 5 *cum...nuntiant*] 12. 5 n.  
 6 *apud*] often means 'in the hands of,' and so here: *scelus* is practically 'the advantage derived from *scelus*.' Cp. Tac. A. 2. 70 *neque praemia caedis apud interfectorem mansura*.

## CHAPTER CVII.

- 1 *prohibet*] this vb. generally means 'prevent from *doing*,' not 'prevent from *suffering*.' Caesar however uses the same phrase.  
*hortatur...gererent...pugnatum*] 8. 1 n.  
*[a paucis*: so inferior MSS. The good ones omit *a*, but Sallust's use of the dative in such passages as 46. 3 does not justify its use here for the agent: see note there. We should have to explain the case as ablative absolute, 'if a few men behaved like brave soldiers.']  
*decere*] We should rather have expected him to say that it was *folly*, and that is what Xenophon, whom he seems to be imitating here,

- does* say. But see on 3. 3. [Xen. Cyrop. 3. 3. 45 'tis folly for those who wish for victory to take to flight, turning to the foe those parts of their bodies which have not power of sight, defence or action.']
- 2 **faceret**] the subjunctive is that of Or. Obl., and implies that Sulla's words are being quoted. In Engl. 'because, as Sulla maintained, he was acting....'
- 3 **calliditate**] with this, from *nihil factum*, supply the positive *factum*, and cp. 106. 3.
- 4 **neque...et**] 1. 5 n.
- 6 **uti**] limits: the proposal would not have been accepted in better circumstances. We should say, 'as the only one in....'
- acciderant**] of persons, as in 88. 6.

## CHAPTER CVIII.

- 1 **multum**] 'frequently.'
- orator et...speculatum**] a good ex. of Sallustian variety.
- Massugradae filius**] M. himself may have been a son, Dabar therefore a grandson, of Masinissa.
- 2 **Iugurthae legatum**] Aspar.
- consulto** etc.] 'He had purposely kept up his relations ('not broken') with Iug.'
- res communis**] the object they (Bocchus and Sulla) had in common.
- 3 **conperior**] 45. 1 n.
- Punica fide**] the faithlessness of the Carthaginians was proverbial at Rome, though one has but to read to the end of this book to see that Rome herself had little right to fling a stone at them.
- traderet**] is dependent deliberative, 'whether he should deliver Iug. to the Romans or....'
- lubidinem**] 'personal inclinations.'

## CHAPTER CIX.

- 1 **responderentur**] 'must be said in reply.' For the subj. see on 57. 2.
- 3 **ac nihil...decreuisse**] observe how *iubet* becomes, for this clause, a simple verb of saying.
- nunc**] as in Or. Rect. The word generally becomes *tum* in Or. Obl. (81. 1 n.), but here perhaps *tum* is intentionally avoided, as the reader

would at first suppose it referred to *diem decimum*. So in 111. 1 *tum* was impossible, because of the following *tum*.

- 4 **sanctus**] 85. 40 n.  
**ex sententia**] for the phrase see on 38. 4, for its use as an adjective  
 28. 1.

## CHAPTER CX.

- 2 **nullius**] probably depends on *ope* (or *opis*) understood.  
 3 **id**] his independence, just described.  
**inminutum**] cp. 81. 4.  
**fuert mihi** etc.] 'let this loss of independence which has at length come upon me be the price for (i.e. 'buy me') your friendship': I am ready to put up with the loss of my old position if it secures me your friendship. *Fuert* is jussive, implying 'I am ready for it to be.'  
 4 **adeo**] is simply emphatic, as often with pronouns: cp. e.g. 111. 1.  
**integra**] 'fresh,' 'unpaid.'  
 6 **finis meos**] he keeps to the tale of 102. 13.  
 8 **flumen**] is used loosely for the territory bounded by the river: hence *egrediar* and *intrare*.  
**intrare**] as a means of escape.

## CHAPTER CXI.

- 1 **multis**] 'at length': so *paucis* often (e.g. 110. 6).  
**quod polliceretur**] is object to *habituos*, 'his promising.'  
**in gratiam habituos**] for the acc. see on 14. 1. *Habere* does not obviously imply motion (hence e.g. 103. 6 *in benignitate habebantur*) but it easily acquires it: see e.g. 112. 3 where *in potestatem habere* means 'get into one's power.' And the analogy of such verbs as *duco*, *pono* in similar metaphors would help. [As an actual fact, unless we entirely reject the authority of Gellius, the Romans constructed even *esse* thus: in such cases of course it would have the pregnant force of 'come to be.']  
**illorum...sua retulisse**] R. 1285.  
**adeo**] 110. 4 n.  
**copiam**] 'access to': so in Plautus and Terence.  
**tradidisset**] 8. 1 n.  
**quam nunc peteret**] in reference to his remarks in 110. 6 (see there).  
**ultro**] 8. 2 n.

- 2 **negitare]** passes into the force of *dicere*: see on 106. 3.  
**cognitionem]** unless Bocchus and Iug. were related by blood (a thing of which we hear nothing elsewhere), this could apply only to the relations between B. and Iug.'s children.  
**adfinitem]** through his daughter, married to Iugurtha (80. 6).  
**interuenisse]** 'formed a connexion between them.'  
**metuere]** is probably historic inf. [In any writer but S. we might feel sure it was not Or. Obl., because of the *erant* of the relative clause: this tells little here (see on 54. 1). However, Bocchus would perhaps hardly mention here how unpopular Rome was with his people.]  
4 **pacem]** i.e. to make it appear that peace negotiations were really in hand.

## CHAPTER CXII.

- 1 **poni]** = *deponi* of 83. 1.  
2 **cuncta]** acc. retained from the active: see on 56. 2.  
**saepe antea]** refers particularly to the affairs of Albinus, as appears from § 3 where Iug. refers with grim humour to the senate's decision of 39. 3: *suo atque populi iniussu nullum potuisse foedus fieri*.  
**conuentam]** is used curiously here: *pax conuenta* is the passive of *pacem conuenire*, 'to agree on peace,' an expr. which is not found in Latin. However they said *conuentum* for 'an agreement,' which comes to the same thing.  
3 **ambobus consultum]** 'act in interests of both.'  
**una]** with *ueniretur*.  
**in potestatem]** 111. 1 (*in gratiam*) n.  
**non sua ignauia etc.]** With remarkable brevity S. leaves us to take *in potestate* first with *ignauia*, 'who was in their hands through no fault of his own,' and then with *relictum iri*, 'would be left there.' Besides this, it is unusual to say *sua ignauia in hostium potestate* for *qui s. i. i. h. p. esset*. But for this see on 28. 1.

## CHAPTER CXIII.

- 1 **uoluens]** = *cum uoluisset*: see on 15. 1.  
**dolo...cunctatus]** the vb. of this clause is *promiserit* understood: 'whether he made the promise with real or feigned reluctance.'  
2 **in colloquium]** of course belong to the *uti* clause: cp. on 13. 6.  
3 **inmutata uoluntate]** he resolved *not* to consult them.

**uoltu...uarius]** lit. 'changing in face and glance as much as in mind,' i.e. betraying in the one the uncertainty of the other.

**quae...patefecisse]** the acc. and inf. depends on *scilicet* (see on 4. 6). [But the clause is certainly a feeble repetition of the one before, and deserves all the suspicion with which edd. regard it.]

5 **quaestore]** of course means Sulla.

7 **ceteri]** the *necessarii* of § 6.

## CHAPTER CXIV.

1 **Gallos]** The Cimbrians, to whom he refers, were of course Germans, but they had acquired in their wanderings a Celtic element and the Romans often call them Gauls. The measures taken by Rome to secure her frontiers in the districts of the Alps and Balkans seem to have brought upon her these peoples, who had for some time been wandering along the northern verge of the Danube-region. After defeating a consul in 113, they passed westward and routed a Roman army in Southern Gaul, after which they remained inactive until 105, when the battle to which S. refers took place.

**Q. Caepione et Cn. Manlio]** the defeat was owing to the quarrels between them: Manlius was consul, Caepio proconsul. The battle is generally called that of Arausio: 80,000 Roman soldiers are said to have perished in it.

**Italia omnis contremuit]** 'The Romans were accustomed to open every war with disasters. The invincibility of their arms was so firmly established that it seemed superfluous to attend to the pretty numerous exceptions. But the battle of Arausio.....produced a sudden and fearful awakening from these dreams. Men recalled the Celtic inroads of the 4th century, the day of Allia and the burning of Rome..... Through all the west people seemed to be aware that the Empire was beginning to totter' (Mommsen, R. H. 3. 184).

2 **illique]** sc. *Romani*, 'the Romans of those days.'

**alia omnia** etc.] we should say, 'whereas all other wars were easy matters, with the Gauls it was a struggle etc.'

3 **absens]** of course this was an honour: the candidate escaped all the troublesome business of canvassing etc. (see on 4. 3). Later on the thing was made illegal, and the disputes thereon were one of the direct causes of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

**triumphauit]** S. says nothing of Iug.'s end in the old dungeon of

S.



the Capitol. Plutarch (Mar. 12) tells us how 'after the triumph he was thrown into prison, and some tore his robe off his back, others, eager to secure his golden earrings, pulled the lobe of the ear off with them. And when they thrust him down naked into the deep dungeon he cried out with a laugh 'Heavens, how cold your bath is!' For six days he struggled with famine, to the last moment clinging to desire for life, and thus paid the penalty of his crimes.'

4 *spes...in illo sitae*] and not in vain: in 102 and 101 he inflicted on the enemy the crushing defeat of Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae, which practically annihilated the invaders.

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